PROJECT REPORT

ON

TRIBALS AND EDUCATION : A QUEST FOR INTEGRATION IN THE REGIONAL MAINSTREAM

(A Study in Search of Alternative Model for Tribal Education)

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Preface

Most of the countries of the world have accepted to provide at least free elementry education to their citizens. The Directive Principles of the State Policy of the Indian Constitution also provides "free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years." Article 46 further says that "the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

In conformity with these articles of the Constitution, the state of Rajasthan has opened schools in the Tribal- Sub-Plan Area comprising the districts of Banswara, Dungarpur, and parts of the districts of Udaipur and Chittorgarh. The present enquiry is concerned with the intensive study of a few of the school types and major tribal groups of

the area. The nature of enquiry is empirical. However, field observations have been interpreted through historical explanations also. Thus besides survey and tools, history has also been our methodology.

The problem of the present enquiry is the realm of tribals and their education. Our premise of argument is that the tribal society is a specific society. Logically, it has its particularistic needs. A society determines its educational system. In this context the question is: Does the tribal societal specificity need a particular educational system different from the multi-castes and ethnic regional society surrounding the tribals? Data have been generated from the field to answer this big question.

The social evidences have been organised into six chapters. In the first two chapters we define our research perspective; analyse our theoretical frame-work and discuss the strategy of research. In the next chapter the field of enquiry has been described.

Chapter four and five contain discussions about school types—Government, Ashram and Missionary—in terms of their integrative aspects. In the next

chapter the observations of teachers, parents, social workers and leaders have been analysed in the context of the differential level of integration obtained by the tribal students.

In the last chapter we draw a portrait of the Alternative paradigm of tribal education in the light of the general findings of the enquiry.

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CHAPTER I

THE PERSPECTIVES

There are two major perspectives of education: (i) the analysis of the objectives that education fulfils in a particular society, and its relationship with features such as the economy, the polity, the stratificatory system, in other words, the analysis of the objectives of education as a social institution and an understanding of its relationship with other elements of the system, and (ii) the analysis of the structure and the functioning of the educational

system itself. These two perspectives constitute the theoretical frame-work of educational system. The basic tenet of any educational system lies in the fact that it corresponds to the needs of its immediate society. The consumers of education are the members of the society. And, therefore, the content of education, its syllabus and methods of teaching are specific to the needs of the society.

We cannot impart education through rule of thumb. It has to reach its consumers in a scientific way. If our educational in-put does not tally with educational out-put, the arithmetic is wrong. There is some weakness in the theory. The problem of our present enquiry basically lies in the argument: if the tribal society in India is specific in its polity and economy, if the tribal society is particularistic in its structure and profile, does not it mean that it should have a specific and particular education system for it? Or, if there is plurality of culture in India, if there is regional differentiation, does it mean we should have plurality of educational systems? Or, does a monolithic educational system cut across regional and cultural differentiation and

fulfil wider integration needs of the society? These are a few of the theoretical perspectives which need to be discussed before any analysis of theoretical data is attempted.

THE GOALS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

One of the objectives of education notwithstanding any regional specificity is to bring about desired social change. This objective cuts across the nation-wide social differentiation. When we discuss the goals of social change, the relevant questions are: Where and in what segments of our society is this change being attained and to what degree? Do different levels of education reflect different levels of identification with new values and behaviour patterns? Do differences in social backgrounds of students as well as teachers make any difference in the acceptance of these values? To what extent are teachers aware of the implications of accepting these values and how far are they equipped or inclined to practise them? Are the different types of institutional sponsorships, governmental, municipal, voluntary, religions, differentially suited to the inculcation of these values?

The above questions need to be answered. To begin with, we should first look to the constitution which provides us a set of norms and values which serves as a goal of social change. The Constitution, above all places before the people a democratic society which recognizes the dignity and the basic rights of the individual and holds the promise of an order in which social, political and economic justice and equality will prevail. These goals may be traced to the liberal philosophy of nineteenth century Britain which had influenced the educated sections of our society including the makers of our constitution.

The other substantial goal of Indian society besides parliamentary democracy is rationality including secularism. Rationality, actually, is a dimension of liberalism. "Rationalism has different social, philosophical and theological connotations, but essentially it refers to the practice of accepting reason as the basis for action and judgement. What is considered "reasonable" may vary from time to time and culture to culture. In the modern world the "reasonableness" of an action is sought to be established largely on whether it is based on available scientific knowledge. In social life acceptance of

rationality means rejection of prejudice against individuals or groups and of superstition of all kinds. Rationalism in this sense is somewhat different from a belief in science and willingness to use and benefit by scientific technology. Religious bigotry, racial or caste prejudice and regional pride are inconsistent with a rational attitude of mind. The need for rationality in social life in this sense can hardly be over-emphasized. Any hope of achieving integration among the people of many religions, castes and languages of India can only be based upon the acceptance of rational social norms by its people."[1]

It must be observed that the value of rationality is not deep-rooted in the tradition of this country. The high caste Hindus, the landed property people, the white-collared gentry and the elites who had benefited by the British education system during the earlier parts of the present century did not hold in high esteem the liberal view of rationality. They lived largely by two different sets of norms — one that governed their public and occupational life and the other that governed domestic and social life. The norm of rationality was applied with greater readiness and ease in the former area i.e. in the realm of public

and occupational life, but it was not considered relevant or applicable in the latter. The reform movement which started during this period was not inspired by any sense of rationality. It was motivated and strengthened by the values of emotionality and humanism. Later, with the growth of the nationalist movement the programmes for removal of caste disabilities and removal of untouchability also appeared as political necessities for forging a strong, united front against the foreign ruler. Admittedly, rationalism is a new value put forward by our Constitution. The question here is whether our system of education to-day continues to nurture and strengthen the rational approach to life among students who pass through our schools and colleges. If it does not, then rationalism, secularism will mean at best tolerance of other people and their ways of living. It will lead to an ability for mutual sufferance based on intellectual lethargy, not to mutual appreciation and interaction between groups.

However, the introduction of the value of rationality rejects the efficacy of magic and ritual. One who believes in rationality argues that his behaviour is amenable to intellectual analysis. He

ceases to have faith in fate and destiny and looks upon human action as the cause for much that he sees around him. Within the limits of his own limitations and abilities imposed by the social situation, he believes in the importance of his own efforts to achieve his goals. Viewed in this way he is both an activist and also an optimist.

Linked with the value of rationality is secularism. In Indian situation it is discussed in the context of state and religion. Such an usage has been drawn from the liberal democratic tradition of the west. It is thus to be distinguished from the secularism of the marxian communist tradition which is motivated by an active hostility to religion as such. D.E. Smith has provided a working definition of a secular state as has been used in the Indian Constitution:

> "The secular state is a state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not Constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seem either to promote or interfere with religion."[2]

A closer examination of the constitutional usage of secular state given by Smith, thus, involves three distinct but interrelated sets of relationships connecting the state, religion and, the individual:

(1) Individual and religion (freedom of religion);

(2) State and individual (citizenship);

(3) State and religion (separation of state and religion).

The Indian brand of secularism borrows heavily from Gandhiji and Jawahar Lal Nehru. This kind of historical explanation helps us to understand the importance of secularism in our educational system. The value of secularism, ideally, is shared by the diverse social segments of the society. Gandhiji developed his secular ideology on the tenets of his religions presupposition. Gandhiji's starting point was that of a religious man who believing all religions to be true, accepted a theory of the state which was fit in this belief. Jawahar Lal Nehru's secularism is based on rationality and scientific spirit. His starting point was that of a practical political thinker and leader who while personally believing all religions to be mostly untrue had to provide for their freedom to

function peacefully without prejudicing the democratic system; hence the secular state.[3]

Nehru firmly agreed for the separation of state from religion. For him secularism was the cardinal doctrine of a modern democratic practice. Gandhi's secularism was a little micoina. His idea was that all religions are equally true. The religions may lead to a non-communal state but never to a truly secular state.

Keeping aside the controversy of the definition of the secularism it must be observed that our notion of secularism to-day is that of non-communal and non-interventionist state in the religion practised by an individual or a group. However, in its wider connotation—beyond the Constitution—secularism also means humanism, and a scientific spirit caused by rationality.

Yet another value which the Indian society has to attain is the goal of equality. This aspect of our Constitution is also borrowed from the liberal philosophy of the west. It emerges, in the Indian context from the British-sponsored system of education. To begin with, the notion of equality meant only equality

before law. Even in England the concept of equality had not gained very much broader significance in the nineteenth century. The idea of equality in voting rights came later—having been extended first to the new middle class and much later to the common man. Women earned the right to vote only in the twentieth century.

Today the idea of equality has gained a much wider significance. Minimally it means equality of opportunity and in this concept of equal opportunity, the opportunity for education has a central place. Since the Second World War the concept of equality has gained a new meaning by the development of the concept of 'social justice', which recognises the right of the under-privileged to help and assistance. Our constitution has taken special cognizance of this principle of social justice and has enjoined upon the government to provide special facilities to the backward classes whereby they can be helped to overcome their social, political and economic disabilities."[4]

The Constitution also gives the value of socialism. Though it has not been defined, socialism as is found manifest in government policy and plans

shows that there would be de-constriction of money in a few hands. The increasing inequality would be reduced considerably. We can find economic and social inequality between two segments, the backward classes and the non-backward classes, the former including the scheduled castes, the scheduled tribes and the latter backward classes. Together, they comprise roughly one-third of the total population of the country. These backward classes have to be treated on the basis of the value of distributive justice. The quality of life of these segments of society has to be improved. And this forms, in a simpler way the corner-stone of socialism.

The other main contributory influence in the formulation of India's social goals as stated in the Five-Year Plans has been acceptance of the model of economic reconstruction based upon modern technology and specifically, large-scale modern industry. The political and social values and institutions within which modern economic development has taken place have been very different in various parts of the World. To divide them into dichotomies such as capitalist and socialist or democratic and totalitarian is to over-simplify the issues. In India the phrase

'democratic socialism' has gained currency but
7 political leaders have been shy of clearly defining the content of this goal. So far as the Constitution is concerned the clearly descernible impact of these diverse philosophies seems to have been the insistence on the goals of equality — social, political and economic, and of Justice— again social, political and economic. In this categorical emphasis on social and economic equality and on social and economic justice, the Indian Constitution goes a little beyond what was implied in the broadly liberal goal of political equality.

Industrialization and urbanization have nowhere been mentioned as national goals. However, the implementation of Five-Year Plans and the accompanying packages of development programme show that our major shift has been towards industrialization and urbanization, though occasional swing is observed towards rural development. Education is supposed to equip the younger generation with ideas, skills and attitudes concerning the broad national goals including parliamentary democracy, equality, secularism, socialism, industrialization and urbanization. The challenge before education is to see that the structure

of education as well as the content of ideas that it presents help in the development of a liberal personality which is democratic, secular, socialistic, rational, bureaucratic, industrial, urban. The goals of change in the Indian context, therefore, are multiple.

OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION IN INDIAN SOCIETY

In the ICSSR Trend Reports on the Survey of Research Sociology and Social Anthropology (1969-1979), the objectives of education have been discussed in terms of modernization, change and development.[5] It is stated that the dominant objective of education is to modernise the society. It is argued that the fuction of education is to provide a direction to the society.

It should not be taken for granted that in all situations education functions as an instrument of development. The authors in the eighties have taken a shift and display their scepticism about the effectiveness of education and they show the areas where education has failed. Among these authors K.Ahmad[6] questions the justification for the massive faith that planners and policy makers in independent India have placed on education. She argues that although formal

education can play a vital role in 'additional change' through transformation of the knowledge, attitudes and values of the people, its effectiveness in bringing about structural changes in society is extremely limited. She argues:

> "The vicious circle in which education is caught in India to-day may be broken if the linkages between the existing practices and procedures in education and vested interests in the status-quo are meaningfully exposed by social scientists through their research."

Suma Chitnis, S.Shukla and A.R.Desai make similar observation on the objective of education as a modernizing, change and development agent. Chitnis[8] very aptly illustrates with a variety of data about the differential functioning of education as an instrument of development. A.R.Desai questions the viability of education as an instrument of change. He traces the expansion of education in the country during the post-independence period, compares it with the growth of education in the British period, and examines the issue of the medium of instruction and some other features of the system, to arrive at the conclusion that education in post-independence India

has not been purposively geared to obtain the changes aimed at. He particularly questions the suitability of post-independence policies, funding and financing of education to the goals of social mobility, equality and quality.[9] S.Shukla observes that the problem of gearing education to development and to change as visualised in our Constitution, Five-Year Plans and government policies is largely political and managerial.[10]

The other major influence in the determination of educational objectives is the national goal of rapid economic development. "Superficially this may appear to be mainly a problem of increased 'material inputs and outputs'. In actuality even economists do not accept this simple notion of economic development. There is minimally the additional requirement of technically qualified manpower, but there is the equally important factor of the attitudes, values and social institutional arrangements which are conducive to economic development and are regarded as a part of the process of modernization."[11]

Modernization involves ideology. It is multi-dimensional. It has a broad spectrum. It influences nearly all aspects of human life. The central

characteristic of the process of modernization is the growing linkage between the technology of modern economic life and the discoveries and invention of science. The contemporary society in India, including the tribal one, calls for an increasing measure of freedom from the restraints of caste and kin. Individuals and valued for what they achieve rather than for the status of their parental family. Opportunities for jobs and education are related to objective, universalistic criteria rather than the criteria of kin or caste membership.

It is expected of education to equip the individual with a sprit of indePendence and a sense of adventure. It must also give a greater capacity for discrimination and judgement whereby he can make his own choice between conflicting norms and values of the pluralistic society in which he will be called upon to live.

TRIBAL EDUCATION: SOCIAL CONDITION

Our Constitution gives privileged status to the disadvantaged groups, namely, scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. This status has been assigned because of some historical reasons. The content and

orientation of tribal education has to be geared up according to the social conditioning in which the tribals live. One of the foremost conditioning of the tribals in the country has been their pattern of habitation. They are a pre-Drawidian, pre-Aryan group of people inhabiting this country since the dawn of civilization. They are the original settlers to this country, the Adivasies. As first settlers to this country they lived in forests and hills. It is because of this that they are also called as girijan, hill dwellers, and Vanvasi, forest dwellers.

The economy of the tribals in the recent past depended on forests and hills. The forests provided them forest produce and wood besides game for hunting. The hills protected them from the invaders. The forests and hills thus encapsulated the tribal society for centuries. It provided them two major attributes: isolation from the mainline regional society, and subsistence economy. The twin aspects of the tribal social conditioning have provided a discrete ethos to the tribal society. It is this historicity which is responsible for providing them protective discriminations for their development.

The historical general backwardness of the tribals coupled with isolation and subsistence economy has kept these groups in backwaters for centuries. What is worse the non-tribals and the rulers missed no opportunity in the exploitation of these groups. It has been the irony of fate that the tribals who helped the Rajputs during medieval period to fight against the Mughals and Marathas were in the later period during the ascendency of Rajput rule, oppressed the tribals. They were treated as beasts. The Rajput rulers hung them upside down the tree, flogged them publicly, and gauged out their eyes. Politically, therefore, the tribals remained victims of the high-handedness of the non-tribals, particularly the high-caste Hindus.

The tribal economy has also suffered a continuous downward mobility. In the initial periods of history it depended on forests and forest produce. At a later stage some of them migrated to plains. It was the first historical opportunity for the tribals to witness social stratification. Commenting on the division of Bhils of the erstwhile state of Mewar of Rajputana, Major Erskine observes:

> "The Bhils have, by the various changes in their condition, been divided into three classes which may be denominated, the village, the cultivating, and the wild or mountain Bhils. The first consists of those who from ancient residence or chance have become inhabitants of villages in the plains (though usually near the hills) of which they are the watchmen and are incorporated as a portion of the community. The cultivating Bhils are those who have continued in their peaceable occupations after their leaders were destroyed or driven by invaders to become desperate freebooters. Specimens of these two classes are to be found in almost every state. The third class, that of the wild or mountain Bhils, comprises all that part of the tribe which, preferring sevage freedom and indolence to submission."[12]

The tribal isolation has been an important characteristic in the process of their learning. It would be interesting to note that in the year 1908 the erstwhile state of Mewar had 14 schools including 2 Anglo-vernacular secondary schools. The total budget allocated to the state came to Rs.24,000/- only. In the erstwhile states of Dungarpur and Banswara there was one Anglo-vernacular secondary school in each state. The number of post-primary and lower primary

schools did not exceed 12. The tribal boys and girls, leaving aside some boys of the Mewar Bhil Corps hardly attended any school. The educational situation of the tribals in the first quarter of the 20th century was more than worse.[13]

Yet another social conditioning in which the tribals lived, besides subsistence economy and isolation, was feudalism. We would further argue that the problems of education among the tribals have to be seen within the historical-social context of the group. We are trying to depict it at the level of southern Rajasthan which is the Tribal Sub-Plan Area (TSP) of the state.

We have historical evidence to state that the Bhils were the rulers, chiefs and Jagirdars of the erstwhile state of Banswara and Dungarpur. Popular legend has it that a Bhil chieftain Bisna or Bansia was the ruler of Banswara. The city is founded after his name.[14] In the case of Dungarpur the founder chief was Dungaria Bhil and similar is the case of Kushalgarh where the chief Kushala Bhil was defeated.[15] Brij Raj Chauhan who has made an ethnographic study of the towns of the tribal region[16] observes that "Among the Jagirdars there

were both the Rajput and the Bhil. Within their realm the state did not intervene."

The feudalism which was found prevalent in the erstwhile Rajputana States was different from the one which existed in Europe. It is really difficult to define precisely the term feudalism. R.S. Sharma[17] has tried to develop a model to define and explain feudalism in general. His explanation runs as under:

> "..... the political essence of feudalism lay in the organisation of the whole administrative structure on the basis of land: its economic essence lay in the institution of serfdom in which peasants were attached to the soil held by landed intermediaries placed between the King and the actual tillers, who had to pay rent in kind and labour to them. The system was based on a self-sufficient economy in which things were mainly produced for the local use of the peasants and their lords and not for market."[18]

The feudals, that is, the Jagirdars were the intermediaries between the central ruler and the actual tiller. He appropriated the land rent to his personal gain after paying a part of it. With the ascendency of Rajput power the Bhils were subordinated.

This subordination made them victims of exploitation. There was unequal exchange between the ruler and the Bhil. The tribals were required to pay taxes on the occasion of birth and marriage in the royal family. Besides, they were also asked to render begar forced labour. The Jagirdari system in this part of the country as elsewhere also was based on exploitation. There were various aspects of exploitation in feudalism. It did not remain restricted to the rulers only, the high caste Hindus also exploited the tribals.

The tribal educational situation has, therefore, to be analysed in terms of the social conditioning of the people in the past. It would not be wrong to say that in the long periods of history the non-tribals have created some myths about the people. These have become stereotypes. Tod, writing in 1839 about Western India, observes that "the Bhil will feed on vermin of any kind, foxes, jackals, rats..... yet in moral degradation their fellowship is complete."[19] The non-tribals would call them cow-eaters. The tribe is said to be dishonest and ungrateful. A few more distorted images of tribals of southern India could be enumerated. The point which requires attention is that if we look

at the problems of tribal education within the 'shadow' of these non-tribal prejudices and stereotypes our scientific analysis of these people is likely to be obsessed. We would, therefore, only argue that let us look at the tribal educational situation as is found today in the context of the historical social conditioning namely subsistence economy, isolation in hills and forests, feudalism, exploitation and the stereotypes developed by the non-tribals, specially the high castes Hindus.

TRIBALS IN THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD: THE NEW SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL CONDITION :

The post-independence period marks a conspicuous watershed in the social history of the Bhils. The framers of our Constitution have given certain special safeties and securities to the tribals. These safeties and securities provide some protective discriminations to the tribals against the non-tribals. The Constitution declares in its Article 342, that "the Scheduled Tribes are the tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities" which the President may specify by public notification. As these

groups are presumed to form the oldest ethnological sector of the population, the term 'Adivasi' has become fairly popular. The International Labour Organisation has classified them as 'indigenous'.

The largest concentration of tribal People anywhere in the world except perhaps Africa is in India. According to 1981 census Scheduled Tribes number 5, 16, 28, 638 constitutiong 7.5 per cent of the total population of the country. Speaking more than 100 languages they have been concentrated mostly in the states of Mizoram (93.55%), Nagaland (83.99%), Meghalaya (80.58%), Arunachal (69.82%), Madhya Pradesh (22.97%), Gujarat (12.22%), Rajasthan (12.21%) and Bihar (8.3 %). The first four states situated in northeastern India are actually the tribal states but their total number is not very large.

The Constitution in its Article 46 observes:

> "The states shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes, and the Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation."

Other Articles empower the President to make arrangements for the implementation of this high idea.

Article 244 empowers him to declare any area, where there is a substantial population of tribal people as a scheduled area under the fifth schedule or in Assam as a tribal Area under the sixth schedule. Article 275 of the Constitution provides for financial assistance to the states for the implementation of the provisions of the Constitution. Articles 330, 332 and 334 provide for reservation of seats for the scheduled tribes in the House of the People and the State Legislatures for a certain period. Article 335 procides for reservations in the services.

Articles 15, 16 and 19 make it possible while legislating on any matter, to take into consideration the special conditions of the tribes in the matter or enforcing the provisions relating to the equality of all citizens. The object is to safeguard their interests and their way of life. Article 29 guarantees educational and cultural rights to all the citizens. Article 45 of the Constitution is more specific regarding obligation of the state. It directs the state:

> "to strive to provide within a period of 10 years from the commencement of the Constitution free and compulsory education up to the age of the 14 years."

What is of more importance from the perspective of the deprived sections is article 46 which directs:

> "to promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of the society and in particular scheduled castes and scheduled tribes."

Besides the Constitution, the main bases of Educational Policy in India are the several Commissions and committees appointed from time to time to suggest reforms in the educational system so as to meet adequately the new demand of the country.

The education commissions include University Education Commission (1949), Secondary Education Commissio: (1952-53) and Kothari Education Commission (1964-66) latest among the goverment documents on education is the National Policy on Education (1986). There is a strong bearing of the New Education Policy on the Scheduled Tribes.

According to the New Educational Policy Document the state government would accord priority in the opening of primary schools in tribal areas including the construction of school buildings. In order to provide identity to the tribal ethnicity, efforts would be made to develop curricula and devise instrumental

materials in tribal language at the initial stages with arrangements for switching over to the regional language. Efforts would also be made to prepare schedule tribe youths to take up teaching jobs in tribal areas.

The New Education Policy Document puts a premium on starting residential schools for tribals including Ashram schools. Looking to the need structure of the tribals special efforts would be made to bring them to accept technical, professional and para-professional courses as a new deal for their future.

The document also emphasises the introduction of Anganwadi centres, non-formal and adult education centres on priority basis in areas predominently inhabited by the scheduled tribes. It is planned that curriculum at all stages of education will be designed to create an awareness of the rich cultural identity of the tribal people as also of their enormous creative talents.[20]

All the reports of the Commissions, the policies of five year plans pertaining to educational achievements and the document on National Policy on Education endorse the Constitutional Commitment of equality opportunity in education to all the groups

of the society. The Kothari education Commission observes in terms of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes:

> "In regard to tribal education, provision of facilities at the primary stage should be improved and Ashram schools should be established in spreadly populated areas. The medium of instruction for the first two years of the school should be the tribal language and during this period the children should be given oral instruction in the regional language and by the third year the regional language should become the medium of instruction."

Despite the breakthrough made by modern transport facilities, a large number of tribal areas remain unapproachable during rainy days. The non-tribals normally avoid their postings in the tribal villages. If postings are made a large number of them play truant and reach their headquarters only to collect their pay pockets. To avoid such a situation the Kothari Commission recommended:

> "Teachers should be provided better pay-scales and adequate housing facilities to take up the task of teaching in tribal areas.... teachers working in tribal areas should know the tribal language and culture."

A large number of Policy decisions made in the National Policy on Education (1986): Programme of Action include recommendations of National Policy Resolution 1968. Article 4 of the National Policy on Education suggests:

> "More strenuous efforts be made to equalise educational opportunities. To promote social cohesion and national integration common school system as recommended by the education commissions be adopted. Efforts should be made to improve the standard of education in general schools. All special schools like public schools should be required to admit students on the basis of merit and also to provide a prescribed proportion of free-studentship to prevent segregation of social classes."

The Five Years Plans of the country have initiated some programmes for the welfare of the weaker sections. In the earlier six plans separate allocations have been made for the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Starting with an allocation of Rs.31.90 Crores in the first plan it has been raised to total allocation of Rs.960.80 Crores in the Sixth Five Year Plan. The major share of the allocation (Rs.506.5 Crores) in the Sixth Plan has gone to education

which has been considered as a sheet anchor of any programme for the development of deprived people.

A conclusive observation may be made regarding the new social and constitutional condition made available specially to the deprived groups in the aftermath of independence. Our objective here is not to make an evaluation of educational development among the tribals. What we aim at is to analyse the interaction between the tribal ethnicity and the objectives of our national education system. We have hypothesized that in the process of planned change the tribals have not benefited from development schemes to the extent it was contemplated. It is this 'gap' between the tribal social reality and the contents and implementation of plans which motivate us to have an exercise to find out alternatives of education for the tribals. In our attempt to describe and analyse the interaction between the tribal social reality and the development scheme, we shall first provide some characteristics of the tribal groups in general.

TRIBAL SOCIAL REALITY

The tribals in our country are known as Adivasis in the ordinary usage of the term. In general, it is

applied to people who are considered primitive and who live in backward areas and do not know the use of writing. The anthropologists in the past considered 'tribe' as unanimous with the term 'race', which has altogether a different meaning in the absence of any precise signification given to the term 'tribe'. This is not peculiar to India. It is the same in the case of Australia, Malesia and North America. These areas were first studied by the anthropologists.

Tribes can be defined at different levels. On theoretical plane, the definition of the tribes is based on the empirical characteristics of a particular mode of human grouping found in different parts of the world. It should also take into account the fact that such a mode of grouping represents a particular historical stage in social evolution. The concept has to be defined in such a manner as to include all human groups of a particular type, irrespective of the conditions of time and place.

Andre Beteille has made a vigorous exercise to define 'tribe' on a purely theoretical level. He says that the tribals have some characteristics which make them a society. They have boundaries. They are a

self-contained unit. Some of them are characterized by the presence of a government. Above all the tribal society has a common culture.[21] Concluding the definition of 'tribe', Beteille observes:

> "We have described the tribe as a society boundary: further, as a society based upon kinship, where social stratification is absent. Now, it has to be emphasised that like so many definitions of social categories, this also is the definition of an ideal type."[22]

Beteille's definition of tribe, as he himself accepts, is of an ideal type. In its application it is universalistic. If we apply the ideal type of tribe to Indian situation, we shall hardly find any tribe existing as a separate society. They have all been absorbed, in varying degrees, into wider society in India. In fact such an exercise of defining a tribe would not yield any substantial result. We should rather attempt to define the tribe in a historical context.

It is found that before the emergence of colonialism, the travellers, missionaries and explorers who visited Africa and certain parts of Asia found

some tribals. They were labelled as primitives or early settlers.[23]

In ancient Indian literature some mention has been made about the tribals. They were known by different terms which meant Ganah denoting an agglomeration of individuals forming a large group of non-monarchical type with a definite territory, kinship, common ancestry and common cultural pattern.[24]

During the nineteenth century, colonial expansionism faced a formidable challenge from those "People" who were later named as tribes. After an initial phase of repression, the colonial power implicitly acknowledged the capacity of these people to fight for independence, and initiated a series of protective legislations as well as special administrative devices in favour of them. By 1833 Chota-Nagpur and gradually other areas were made non-regulated with the intention of protection and paternal despotism. In 1874, the process was further formalised with the Scheduled District Act. Meanwhile, tribe as a social category, distinct from the Hindus and the Muslims, got crystallized through an oversimplified assumption that the former were animists while the latter were not. In course of

time, the food-gathering communities and shifting cultivators were also added to the list of the tribes.

All these communities were given different fictitious names and most tribes came to be known in literature by names which even they themselves did not recognise. While several widely-dispersed masses of people were brought under a blanket nomenclature, a number of cognate groups of people were arbitrarily divided into several communities. To this process of naming, local non-tribal images of that time regarding these communities contributed significantly.

Almost a century after the creation of non-regulated areas, in the 1931 census, a serious attempt was made to list the 'primitive tribes'. While the 'forest tribes' of 1891 were 16 millions, in 1931, the 'primitive tribes' numbered 22 millions. Soon, by the Government of India Act, 1935, they were called 'backward tribes' and those living in frontier and border regions were wholly excluded from the normal administration, and those living in the interior, with some concentrations were ruled under partially excluded areas. To the nationalists in general, and the Indian National Congress in particular, these moves of the British appeared as one

of the sinister designs to obstruct national consolidation and the movement for independence.

Following independence, the policy of protection and development of the tribals has been made a constitutional obligation. The excluded areas were made scheduled areas: and a list of the tribes was prepared and adopted. Over the years, the number of Scheduled Tribes has, of course, more than doubled, from 212 in 1950 to 427 in 1971. At present these may even be a little more, due to addition in terms of phonetic variations, internal divisions and also political compulsions. Nevertheless, the two attempts of revisions in 1956 and 1976, hardly made changes in the list of tribes. Though they constitute only about 7.5 per cent of the Indian population, in absolute numbers (42 millions), except perhaps Africa, they represent the largest Concentration of tribal people in the world and their population is equal to several individual nation states.

In Indian context, tribe is thus basically a politico-administrative category and has hardly retained any of its socio-cultural characteristics. That is why, perhaps, our constitution uses the term tribe in its

administrative connotation. According to the constitution scheduled tribes are those which are backward and which deserve special provisions for development. Ghurye thus defines Scheduled Tribes as those which are declared by the President by Public notification as those "Tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes of tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribe."[25] They were duly specified by the President through the constitution (Scheduled Tribes) order 1951, S.R.D. 510. The tribes, groups or parts of tribes or of groups so specified in the order, number about 212.

While including a group in the present list, the government did not lay down any specific criterion for including or excluding a particular social group. This is evident cfrom the answers that the state governments gave to the commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in 1950 in reply to his question: What criteria did they employ to distinguish the "tribals" from the rest of the population? According to the Assam government, the characteristics of tribals were: (a) descent from the Mongoloid stock, (b) being members of the Tibeto-Durman linguistic group and (c) the

existence of a unity of social organisation of the village clan type. According to the Madhya Pradesh government, the tribals were of 'tribal' origin, speaking a 'tribal' language and resident of the forest areas. The Hyderabad government considered tribals as those who resided in forests, followed animistic religion, used a local dialect, practised marriage by force, and resorted to hunting, fishing and gathering of forest food as the main means of subsistence. etc.

If the sociological and anthropological indicators of a tribal group are honestly applied to all the groups of the country, many would come out as tribal groups. And the groups which are scheduled as tribal would cease to remain tribal. When we apply these attributes to the members of agrarian society they could very easily claim the status of a tribal group. It is on the basis of the argument that Ghurye calls the tribal problem an agrarian problem. In the present context most of the sociological and anthropological attributes have lost their existence. Forests have been largely cleared, hills have been made accessible by road construction. The tribal language is steadily but surely giving way to local language. The tribal territory

which was an exclusive home of the primitive groups has been seized by the present administrative extension. The tribal political organization no more exists in practice. Land and other resources of livelihood have become parts of personal property even intermediate level of technology has made its inroads into the tribal hinterland. It would appear that almost all the attributes of a tribal group have lost their significance. Then, how do we explain the characteristics of a tribal group?

Bailey has taken a structural position in the definition of tribe. He has worked among the Konds of Orissa.[26] He rejects the attributes of tribal group given by Ghurye[27] and T.B.Naik.[28] According to him, tribals are those who have a control over natural resources. These are, in this respect independent of the caste Hindus or other non-tribal groups of the region. Tribes cannot be defined in isolation from other groups.[29] Bailey argues that tribals are a part of the total stratification system of the country. There is a process of integrational continuum. On the one end are the tribal groups and on the other the national classes, the system continuum runs: tribe: caste and nation. Bailey

says that the tribal political system which is segmentary integrates itself into the national mainstream. As an ethnic group having its separate identify, the tribal society has a specificity which is explained by Bailey as under:[30]

1. The tribal society has command over resources;
2. It has access to the products of economy by an independent status; and
3. Its population strength is in the region.

Bailey's approach to the definition of tribe is essentially a structural one. He stresses too much on economy and power. He does not take into consideration the structural historical point of view. The tribals have a few attributes which are of a normative nature. Their roots lie in ideology. Surely, there are economic and political attributes of tribe but there are specific features also of the group which are particularistic to it only. A tribes-man behaviour is more as kinsman rather than as an individual. Mandelbaum rightly observes:

> "In tribal life the principal links for the whole society are based on kinship.

> Individual equality as kinsman is assumed; dependency and subordination among men are minimised. Agnatic bounds form the fundamental web, affinities are of lesser significance. Lineages or class tend to be the chief corporate units.... Each man considers himself entitled to equal right with every other. Although there are some subordination by age and sex, age dependency is relatively short and women's dependency relatively shallow."[31]

Bailey has overlooked structuralism. Mandlebaum, on the other hand has given over-tones to tribal ideology. What is required is to stress their institutional network which is particular to the tribes. They have polygamy, specificity of religion, largely a pattern of villages scattered in Pals and Sokaras. The status of woemn is that of a property. The institution of bride price is prevalent among them. This has given rise to marriage by service, elopement and abduction. There is a lack of insistence on sexual virginity. All these attributes make them treat the tribal women as commodity.

When we look at the tribal society in terms of its changing stratification system, we have to keep in view the fact that the structural and value aspects

of the group have substantial significance in social transformation. The tribal society gets new dimensions of stratification not only due to its economic and power stratification, but also new sets of values. While defining the tribal groups we should keep in view that it is not the economic and political change only but the total structural change which would bring a radical change in the society.

APPROACHES TO THE ANALYSIS OF TRIBAL GROUP

In whatever way or manner we may define a tribe, the fact is that it can be approached, precisely with two perspectives, the first is the academic-administrative and the second the dialectic. The official approach has defined tribals largely with the over-tone of administrative political consideration. The groups which seemed to be favourable to the ruling party in terms of vote banks have been declared Scheduled Tribes, notwithstanding, their socio-economic profile. Then the groups which did not show a tilt towards the ruling party were excluded from inclusion in the Scheduled group. Though the state of economy has remained a consideration for the government, political over-tones have nevertheless, been minor considerations.

The social scientists who have approached the tribals with an academic perspective have by and large employed the structural-functional method. This method being conservative is influenced by an approach of status-quo.

Another approach to definition of 'tribe' is charged with an ideological orientation. The Marxist approach to the analysis of tribal society is in terms of dialectics. Following Marx, Fried says that the term 'tribe' denotes a stage in the evolution of social and political structure.[32] Till recently Marxian approach to tribal studies were considered only a politically-oriented approach. The objectivity of such an approach was held in doubt. Today the situation is slightly different, but still it is believed that Marx's theory is inapplicable to primitive or 'ahistorical' societies.[33]

Marx has made a mention about the primitive society. He says that primitive people in the beginning had communal ownership of land. According to him the common ties of blood, language, custom, etc. in the tribal community appear not as the consequence but as the pre-condition of the joint appropriation of the

soil. The individual man being powerless the social organization contains and represents its members in a dictatorial way. In essence, the commercial character appears as a negative unity in relation to the outside world.[34] What is characteristic about tribal groups, according to Marxian perspective is that there is an absence of private ownership of property, especially land among the primitives.

In the present context Marxian line of thought has also undergone some change. Meillassoux considers relationship of men to land as crucial to understand the different forms of pre-capitalistic societies.[35] In hunting and gathering bands, land is the "subject of labour", while for settled agriculturists land is an "instrument of labour". The first one is egalitarian and unstable with little concern for an ideology of biological reproduction. The second type is lineage society, which produces a Kinship ideology. It stresses less on the control of the "means of material production" than on the "means of human reproduction" i.e. subsistence and women. He considers demographic expansion as the logical means to face the social security requirements and, "with the development of exchange and the rise of the market economy, kinship

as the main expression of peasant social organisation loses its actuality. Land becomes a matter of business transactions, and Kin dependants give way to wage earners.[36]

The earlier Marxian approach modified by Meillassoux does not put emphasis on ownership of private property. For Marx tribal kinship was an ideology consisting of production relations.[37] Marxian approach thus takes into consideration production relation among the tribals as a basis of defining the primitive. Later on we shall have an opportunity to discuss the production processes among the tribals.

In the present enquiry we have used the term purely as it is used in the constitution and the official circle. For us any group which is defined as Scheduled Tribe and included in the list of the President of India is 'a tribe'. It must be mentioned here that inclusion in the President's list is essential because it is possible that a group which is declared scheduled in one state might not be included in the other state. The population of Scheduled Tribes also varies from state to state. It is negligible or small in states like Kerala or Tamil Nadu and very high in states like Madhya Pradesh, Orissa or Nagaland.

According to the 1981 census, the population was 5,16,28,638 persons. They constitute 2.4 per cent of the total population of the country. In the state of Rajasthan the tribal population accounts for 41.83 lakhs according to the 1981 census, constituting 12.20 per cent to the state's population. The major concentration of tribal groups is in the southern part of Rajasthan comprising Banswara and Dungarpur districts, 7 blocks of Udaipur district, 2 blocks of Chittorgarh district and one block of Sirohi district. This area is the tribal sub-plan area having a population of 27.57 lakhs in 4409 villages of which the tribal population is 18.30 lakhs. The tribal sub-plan area constitutes 5.77 per cent of the total area of Rajasthan and contains 43.74 per cent of the state's tribal population. Major tribal groups living in this area are Meenas, Bhils, Damors and Garasias.

The state has also other identified groups of Scheduled Tribes found in different parts of the country, among these important tribal groups being the Saharia and the Bhil-Meena. The comprehensive list of Scheduled Tribes included in the President's lists is given in Appendix-1.

For our present inquiry we have taken up the study of the stratification pattern of the Bhils of Banswara district, of the state of Rajasthan. Banswara is one of the four districts of the Tribal Sub-plan (TSP) of the state. When we study the Bhil population-the major Bhil tribal group of the state—we study it with reference to this (TSP) though there are Meenas, Damors and Garasias also in the region.We have purposively taken Bhils for our study. This tribal group has a substantial numerical strength compared with other tribal groups.The Bhils have a mythology; they have a chequered history. They are known for their bravery. In the recent past they have accepted a settled way of life also. In the processes of transformation they have taken to modernization. All these attributes of social change have induced us to take up the study of Bhil stratification. Before we spell out the problem of our study we would dwell a little upon describing the socio-economic profile of the tribe as a whole.

The Bhils who are identified as a category of Scheduled Tribe are known as Adivasis by the local caste Hindu population. In fact, the whole of western India consists of the home-land of the Bhils. The region could be called Bhil country which lies on the borders of

Rajasthan (the whole of TSP area), Gujarat, Maharashtra and the Madhya Pradesh. Next to the Gonds and the Santals, they constitute the third largest tribal group of India.

Until the 19th century, the Bhils practised shifting cultivation but with the advent of the British rule in India, they were forced to settle down and a Bhil Agency was created to help them in that task.[38] Now-a-days the Bhils have become plough cultivators. Their main occupation is agriculture and the great majority of them are land owners.

Anthropologists have been struggling to find out the origin of the Bhils. It is surprising that they have repeated the ancient origin of the Bhils and postualted their affiliation to diverse people without any empirical evidence at all. The confusion between 'tribe' and 'primitive', 'archaic', 'backward' or 'savages' has led most of the writers to accept any hypothesis as truth.

Anthropologists have said all kinds of things about the origin and image of the Bhil tribe. It would be interesting to refer to a few of the findings of anthropologists about the origin of the Bhils.

It was in the year 1931 that writing on the Bhils of Central India, Venkatachar, writes that Bhils are the race who lived in the country before the coming of the Aryans and the Dravidians. He related Bhils with Mounda. A very interesting observation of Vekatachar is that he affiliates Bhils with the Mundas of Chota Nagpur. The author's statement runs:

> "There is no doubt they represent a race which inhabited India earlier than the Aryans and the Dravidians....The Bhils are one section of the great Munda race...."[39]

Moris Carstairs, a British Phychiatrist turned anthropologist argues that Bhils are the oldest "surviving inhabitants" of the region of Udaipur. They were conquered at a later stage by the Aryans. He observes as below about the origin of the Bhils:

> "The Bhils are the oldest surviving inhabitants of the areas... This swamping of the old Bhil language is the most extreme instance of the conquest of the Bhils by the later Aryan incomers into Southern Rajasthan."[40]

Carstairs's argument does not ring sound. It is weak to say that as the Bhils did not have proper

language they were conquered by the Aryans. The belief in the so-called old Bhil language is unshakable. It is accepted as an axiom; tribals are primitive; therefore, they have a primitive language. The primitiveness of the Bhils is another dominant trait underlying the whole debate. Sometimes a Bhil is like a character in a fairy tale. The writer is so much convinced of the savageness of the tribal that he assumes:

"He is chiefly noticeable for his extreme blackness."

In fact, a kind of romanticism has prevailed among social anthropologists about the Bhils. Observed in this connection is the statement given by M.P. Majumdar:

> "The Bhil does scarcely anything except existing... The extreme blackness of the Bhils can be seen at the first glance... He prefers dirty water to pure and if he has to drink at a stream, would even go out of his way to avoid the clearer side and make sure of a muddier draught... He does not possess the charm of myths and fairy tales which lend a hue of picturequeness to so many other primitive races... We need not wonder, therefore, when we find that the Bhil can hardly count ten or work out the number of 2 plus 3."[41]

In tracing the origin of Bhils, the social anthropologists and also scholars incharge of census

operations have always suffered with the obsession of tribal primitiveness. And this has been dealt with, with the bias of the anthropologists. Mention in this connection may be made about Wilhem Koppers who has carried out most of his field work among the Bhils. One very interesting thing about Koppers is that he has proclaimed all the time for being anti-evolutionist, he has all the time talked about the evolution of the Bhils. He has tried to find out 'true' or 'pure' Bhils, as stages of Bhil evolution whereas the evolutionist tried to find simpler forms of institutions in the past.[42] Basically both the approaches are equally hypothetical: Kopper's remarkable study on memorial stones must inevitably end with such conclusions about the true Bhils:

> "We may think that original Bhil knew nothing of this kind of memorial cult of the dead."[43]

The idea of the Supreme Being dear to the Austrian School, is presented with similar confidence:

> "In view of these facts, it is no overstatement to designate the Bhils as comparatively definite and conscious monotheists."[44]

When the struggle for freedom became acute, our Indian social anthropologists exhibited their concern to reform the tribals to bring them on par with the non-tribal segments of the regional society. P.C. Shah who has written extensive monographs on the tribals, symbolized this approach about the Dublas, he writes:

> "We have every hope that they will reach a higher stage in social evolution".[45]

There are those social anthropologists also who try to discuss the origin of the Bhils and identify them with the caste Hindus. Their bias of the caste system is so strong that in one way or the other they would definitely refer to the caste system whenever writing about the Bhils. Look at the statement given by N.S. Reddy:

> The caste system of this type is purely indigenous and it would evolve at any place given the necessary conditions."[46]

The discussion about the origin and problem of the Bhils is conditioned by the preconceptions of the anthropologists who guide the whole research. The above references, largely reflect the problems that the student of tribal India has to face. The immensity of the available material seems to be more

of a burden than an advantage. Tribal problems dominate while basic questions remain unanswered. A lot indeed has been written on Bhil problems but little has been said.

The main conclusion of their sub-section will be somewhat surprising. However, in fact, we shall maintain that what the anthropological literature reveals is, in the last analysis, the conception of the plain's people themselves. The 'image' of the Bhil throughout the Central India is one of fascination and fear. The Bhil is the romantic bandit both lawless and grateful. From early times, the Indian people knew nothing about the mountains and forests, "inhabited by monsters and fabulous beings." As early as 1889, J. Rorsyth wrote about tribal ethnography:

> "All accounts of such tracts were filtered through Hindu and Mohamedan subordinates, whose horror of a jungle, and its unknown terrors of bad air and water, wild beasts and general discomfort, is such as to ensure their painting the country and its people in the blackest of colours."[47]

All sorts of fantastic statements are given about the Bhils. Before the coming of colonialism, very unscientific and wild observations were made

about the Bhils. They were described to be "the wonderful people with their strength and lawlessness. These people were called "children of the forests" or "plunderers of the night". It was perhaps in the fifties that the image of the Bhils began to get improved. T.B. Naik very strongly strikes at our prejudice against the image of the Bhils.[48]

LITERACY IN RAJASTHAN

Education is concerned with learning. It is the process of acquiring knowledge or skills by instruction, study or experience; in this broad sense learning is a life-long process. Education refers to the method by which a society attempts to direct and accelerate the learning process of its member. Formal education refers to schooling, an organised system of training for developing knowledge, skills, mind, character, etc. of individuals. Informal education emanates from an individual's own experience and continues throughout his life. However, with the development and use of organised sources of mass media for 'education' the distinction between formal and informal education hinges on enrolment, specified instructional programme spread over a period of time, examination and certification. In the present enquiry

the term 'education' is used in its narrower sense, it refers to literacy and formal schooling.

The literary situation in Rajasthan dates backs to the feudal regime. Before we trace its history a few observations need to be made about the state in general. According to 1981 census the general population of the state comes to 34,261,862 persons. Out of the total population in urban areas. The population growth rate for 1971-1981 has been 32.97 per cent. The density of population comes to hundred per cent (per sq.km.). The literacy rate in the state for 1981 is 24.38 per cent. Among the literates the rate of literacy for males and females comes to 36.30 and 11.42 respectively.

On a broader way at the state level there were 269 colleges during the year 1979-80. For the same year there were 2,168 secondary/higher secondary schools, 5,175 middle schools, and 21313 primary and pre-primary schools.[49]

If we look at the number of literates in the state since 1901, we could have a historical record of the progress made by the general population. To begin with in 1901 the literacy rate at the country level was 3.35 which was recorded 3.47 for erstwhile

Rajputana State. In the census 1981 the general literacy rate for the country as a whole has been 36.17 which for the state of Rajasthan has been 24.05. The details of data are given in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

Tribal Literacy Situation

Year	Number of Literates (in thousand)		Literacy Rate	
	India	Rajasthan	India	Rajasthan
1901	12680	358	3.35	3.47
1911	14851	377	5.92	3.41
1921	17912	366	7.16	3.25
1931	26251	467	9.50	3.96
1941	N.A.	760	16.10	5.46
1951	60189	1282	16.67	8.02
1961	105472	3066	24.02	15.21
1971	161436	4914	29.45	19.07
1981	237992*	8204	36.17	24.05

*Excludes Assam and Jammu and Kashmir

The rate of literacy in the general population in Rajasthan lags behind the national rate. The tribal literacy in the state when compared to the general

population ebbs down considerably. According to 1981 census the general literacy rate among the tribals comes to 10.27. It is found that the tribals who live in the city have higher literacy rate compared to those tribals who are located in villages. The data are given below:

Table 1.2

Population of Scheduled Tribes in the State and their Literacy Rate (1981 census)

	Total Population			Literacy Rate		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Urban	4027168	2663410	19637558	9.61	17.08	0.93
Urban	155956	87357	68599	27.31	41.93	8.69
Total	4183124	2150767	2032357	10.27	18.85	1.20

The Constitution has made provision that compulsory education would be made for children in the age group 6-11. The population of students enrolled in the schools in different age groups shows that the number of non-tribal students far exceeds the number of tribal students at all the levels of age groups. It shows that the literacy situation of the tribals is far worse than that of the non tribals. Table 1.3 gives data in this respect.[50]

Table 1.3

Age-group-wise Enrolment of Students in Rajasthan

Age group	Total Enrolment			Scheduled Castes			Scheduled Tribes		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
6 - 11 Years	2938253	1155151	4093409	472046	132178	604224	335821	90091	425912
11 - 14 "	893654	216124	1109778	134028	11881	146009	85480	6202	91688
14 - 17 "	471585	98820	570405	58645	2905	61550	37668	1431	39099
Grand Total	4303497	1470095	5773592	664719	147064	811783	458975	97724	556699

The enrolment of tribal students at different levels of primary and secondary education shows that the percentage of their drop-out increases with each higher level of school education. In other words at the state level it is found that higher the standard of school education the decreasing is the size of tribal student enrolment. The data are given below:

Table 1.4

Enrolment of Tribal Students at different Levels of Primary/ Secondary Education
(September 30,1985)

School Level	Scheduled Tribe Students		
	Male	Female	Total
Pre-primary	11	9	20
Primary	250496	72223	322719
Upper Primary	136555	21842	158197
Secondary	41159	2703	43862
Higher Secondary	30754	1147	31981
Total	458975	97724	556699

In conclusion it should be observed that the tribal educational system as we find today in the state of Rajasthan is the result of multiple factors.

The whole region of the erstwhile states of Rajputana was characterised by Rajput rule for several centuries. The Rajputs anyhow had accepted that getting education for themselves and their children was below their status. It was meant only for the Brahmins and the Baniyas. Such a doctrinaire approach to education discouraged the opening of schools in the state.

The social conditioning generated through feudalism, the practice of forced labour, subsistence economy and untamed environment came in the way of creating a favourable situation for education. The tribal groups being a different racial and ethnic stock were kept encapsulated in hills and forests. The search for new educational system should emerge out of these few perspectives which are environmental, historical, political and above all theoretical.

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CHAPTER II

TRIBAL INTEGRATION, THE REGIONAL MAINSTREAM AND METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

The key problem of the tribals of southern Rajasthan is to improve their quality of life. It includes housing, sanitation and healthcare along with facilities of education. The quality of life does not mean only physical production or GNP. It is wrong to believe that the tribals do not aspire for better things in their lives and are content with just two meals a day. though they may at the same time be facing some scarcity of food and undernutrition. It is argued by economists that if

the quality of life of the tribals is improved their integration in the national society would be much facilitated.[1] Anthropologists on the other hand have provided ethnological data to suggest that the process of integration of tribals in the mainline is simple; the social formation moves from tribe to caste and caste to nation. Obviously, the tribals in the social process attain the status of caste and the castes in their turn become part of a national society. F.G. Bailey, a noted British anthropologist who is credited to have worked extensively among the caste Hindus and Konds of Orissa describes the process of social formation:

> "I have shown that tribe, caste and nation are three different political alignments; three forms of allocating scarce resources and of uniting to compete for those resources; three different kinds of areas, in which are engaged three different kinds of groups. I have also shown that these systems can be placed in a temporal order: that the caste system preceded the national system and was itself preceded by the tribal system. This is the direction in which political society is changing. But all three systems are still in existence and effective political action can be taken by

> making use of ties in all of them and by adroit bridge action from one system to another."[2]

The problem of tribal integration and the role of education as one of the generating factors is not as simple as Bailey would think. If we look historically it would be evident that all through the last more than five decades our approach has been partisan to the understanding of tribals. During the colonial period the British, European and a few of the Indian intellectuals used conceptual categories which were Eurocentric in cognitive and value term. The Indian terms such as 'caste', 'tribe', 'village','community' 'family and kinship' were defined as segmentary entities, often analogous to their socio-historical equivalents in European society. "The emphasis was on showing how each of these social entities affirmed the principles of segmentation and autonomy rather than being parts of an organic whole. The element of discreteness was over-emphasized and the linkages both social and cultural, which bound these entities into an organic system of social structure and civilization, were neglected. This bias, which had its roots probably in the colonial ideology of the British social anthropologists and

administrators, is obvious in their treatment of 'caste' and 'tribe' as discrete structural and cultural formation."[3]

Verrier Elwin was the first anthropologist to treat the tribals as isolates in his book on Baigas in 1939. Diagnosing the malady Elwin suggested, "the establishment of a sort of National Park in which not only the Baiga but the thousands of simple Gond in their neighbourhood might take refuge."[4]

About the end of 1941 or the beginning of 1942 Verrier Elwin published a brochure entitled, Loss of Nerve[5] in which he expanded the views he had previously expressed in his book The Baiga. Elwin's earlier approach to tribal integration is characterised by isolation. Commenting on the views of Elwin on the problem of tribal integration, Ghurye observes:

> "Elwin desired to see them not only protected in their interests, which need such protection, but also stablized in their old tribal culture or cultures. Elwin is in respect of them a revivalist. He is thus both a no changer and a revivalist.[6]

Verrier Elwin, however, changed his position later on when he became adviser to NEFA. He recommended that the tribals be given a new philosophy. The Government and the development plans should not intervene in the tribal culture. They should be allowed to develop on their genius.[7]

There are yet another two approaches towards the integration of tribals in the mainline. Majumdar, refers to the 'discomforts' and 'miseries' which come as a result of the interaction of tribals with the non-tribals. He, therefore, suggests 'control integration'. While explaining his position he argues that the tribal should be allowed to be integrated only in a few segments of life which are comfortable to the tribals.[8]

The third view on the tribal integration emerges from the Constitution. According to it the tribals should be integrated in the national mainstream. They should develop along the lines of their own genius and we should avoid imposing anything on them. We should encourage in every way their own traditional art and culture.

DEPARTURE FROM SEGMENTARY APPROACH

The earlier approach towards tribal integration in the national mainstream has largely been segmentary. Ghurye, however, considered the tribals as linkages between the tribal and caste structure and tradition in Indian society. The ethnographers and anthropologists treated the tribals as Noble Savages. The primitive condition was described by them as a state of Arcadian simplicity."[9]

Recently the administrators and a few of the Indian anthropologists have given up a historical and segmental approach to the integration of tribals. K.S. Singh argues that the integration of tribals into the caste society or as Nirmal Kumar Bose says Hindu mode of absorption is a sectarian explanation. In fact, it is a process of integration into the production system of colonialism.[10]

The problem of the integration of tribals at any level of society is concerned with tribal transformation. Transformation of the tribal society is due to current changes that are taking place in the wider society. Earlier Surajit Sinha had delineated the process of the assimilation of tribes into Caste, peasant base of Indian

civilization through the adoption of agricultural technology and linguistic and cultural norms of the peasant castes.[11]

Andre Beteille[12] argues that the tribals who had a subsistence economy had taken to agriculture as their occupation. And, therefore, according to him they are a peasantry. The status of peasantry is due to current transformation. There has been a process of peasantisation among the tribals.

Beteille's thesis has been supported by a number of sociologists and anthropologists. Jaganath Pathy who has carried out extensive field work among the Bhils of Gujarat argues that the Bhils constitute a peasantry. He observes that, "the basic indicators to distinguish the classes are land, income and labour. About 90% of the tribal working population in Gujarat is involved in agriculture."[13] Pathi on the strength of field data defines Bhils as a peasantry.[14]

Schermerhorn who has discussed at length the problem of the integration of minority groups in the national mainstream says that the tribals have come out from seclusion to participation in skilled

agriculture. They are peasants of the standard who raise cash crops like tobacco, cotton and groundnut. There are a few other researches which support the hypothesis that the tribals have attained the status of peasantry. The thesis that the Bhils or for that matter the tribals are a peasantry is contested by Marxist economists.[15]

The anthropologists view the problem of tribal integration with reference to Varna-jati model of absorption. G.S. Aurora who has worked among the Bhils and Bhilas of the region of Alirajpur in the district of Jhabui of Madhya Pradesh discusses the trend of social change among the tribals. He proposes his thesis in terms of tribe-caste-class-social formation. Putting his findings he observes:

> "This appears to be particularly true of the ritual relations between the two land-owning jatis-Bhils and Bhilas—who act towards each other almost as equals; whereas the rituals of social relations between these land-owning Jati and Balais—who own very little land do follow the 'caste pattern' somewhat rigorously."[16]

Furer-Haimendorf advances the thesis that in the process of social formation there is a move among

the tribals to the status of caste. On the strength of his data he argues that Hinduization is most likely to occur among the tribes and that they will enter the caste system.[17] D.N. Majumdar[18] envisages three stages in the process of sanskritisation among the Garos. In the first stage, the tribals give up "unclean habits like beef eating, keeping of pigs and fowls, or the eating of pork and fowl. This is both a sign that the tribe wants acceptance in Hindu society and a claim to belong. Second is the abandonment of tribal deities and rites from the Hindu pantheon and the celebration of ceremonies associated with Hindu deities. These would now be performed by a Brahman priest. The third stage being relinquishing of clan organization and replacing it by Hindu clan system. To crown the entire process, Majumdar hints that the adoption of an Aryan language would complete de-tribalization in its totality.[18]

Bailey argues on the basis of data generated by him among Konds of Orissa that in the political terms "the distinction between tribe and caste is losing its utility.[19] However, in terms of rituals and social practices the Konds of Kondmals are following

the caste pattern of the Oriya, the Hindu caste. In fact "the Konds and Oriyas have competed for several centuries to win control over one another. Konds have tried to make Oriyas conform to their system of political relationships in so far as the difference of caste would permit. Oriyas (in particular warriors) have tried to make the Konds behave as a dependent caste, subordinate to themselves in just the same way as Baderi Pans are by tradition subordinate to the Baderi Konds."[20] In this connection it should be mentioned that Baderi is the name of a village in the Kondmals. In this particular village the tribal Konds have so far acculturated to Hindu ways that they have what appear to be castes of specialized occupations like Smiths and Herdsmen and an untouchable group of manials called Pans.[21]

Santals who are the largest tribal group in the country, it is said, have taken to caste as a model of their integration. Most of them are affected by technological change; those who live in or near the city of Jamshedpur are especially apt to become part of the working force in the steel mills there. Schermerhorn who has analysed the multiplicity of Indian ethnicity,[22] argues that the tribals have

taken different dimensions of social formation. A segment among Santhals persues to attain caste status for improving their rank. Concluding his findings the author says that "the transition from tribe to caste takes many forms and may often remain at an intermediate stage for decades or generations."[23]

In the case of Bhils there is evidence to show that the tribals have been assimilated into the surrounding Hindus. In some areas of southern Rajasthan Bhils are practically indistinguishable from the surrounding Hindus.[24] The Bhils, in fact, in the process of social formation have assumed different caste names among their diverse segments. The list of their sub-castes includes, Bhil, Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhilala and so forth.[25] Many more anthropological and sociological evidence may be cited to demonstrate that a tribe may be integrated into the wider societal system by entering it eventually as a caste. In rural areas, this method is quite consistent with the usual forms of agricultural labour.

The argument that the tribals are changing into castes is contested by a large number of social

scientists. They also argue that the process of social formation is heavily influenced by the attainment of varying educational standards. The counter-argument is also plausible.

INTEGRATION IN THE MAINLINE: THE EDUCATIONAL SYNDROME

In the Post-independence period much has been done in the field of education for scheduled tribes. A package of welfare schemes has been implemented by the Central and State governments. These schemes are: coaching of tribal students, provision for scholarships, hostels, research, training and reservations in professional colleges. All these efforts made in the field of education and also changes brought about modernization have altered the direction of tribal transformation.

Those who propagate the hypothesis that the tribals are changing from tribe to class and not from tribe to caste, obviously have a Marxist perspective. They argue that the tribes are changing into peasants and peasants into depeasantised working class.[26] Such an approach propagates unilinear process of change.

K.S. Singh provides historical evidence to show that the major thrust of change among the primitives has been from tribes into peasants. His observations run as below:

> "We are in a position today to trace the process of transfer of technology from peasants to tribes in the pro-colonial and colonial societies....Since independence this process of transformation has intensified. Pressure of tribal population on land has grown as the carrying capacity of land has deminished. At present much of settled cultivation is at subsistence level and the magority of tribals produced not 'marketable surplus' but 'marketed surplus' which they are forced to do to buy their necessities".[27]

The political and economic process of tribal transformation have created a secular society among these groups. As a result of change they are not integrating themselves in the caste-system. In a restudy of the chodharas, a Gujarat tribe, Ghanshyam Shah tells us about the emerging differentiation based on landownership on education which is reflected in their political attitudes and behaviour. His observations

very clearly indicate that the forces of education and economic modernization have changed the direction of social change among the tribals. They are moving from tribe to class—agricultural labourers, wage earners and factory workers. Shah's assessment runs as under:

> "The rich Chaudhris identify their interests with those of the non-tribal rich farmers. In fact, some of them supported the Khedut Samaj (rich peasant organisation) against paddy levy and land ceiling. Educated Chaudhri boys identify themselves with the urban middle-class boys. These attitudes were reflected in the 1975 State Assembly Elections to some extent. The majority of the poor peasants voted for the ruling congress, believing that it was a party of the poor. The middle peasants got equally divided between the Congress and Janta Morcha. Similarly most of the educated Youths voted against the ruling Congress on moral issues, considering the ruling party as corrupt. This division, of votes statewise in the tribal society also reflects the general voting pattern among the caste Hindus in South Gujarat. Thus, in perception, behaviour and life style, members of the different strata among the Chaudhris in general and educated and rich peasants in particular are becoming part of the larger society, joining hands with

> the similar secular strata outside the tribal society. Such process, on the one hand, disintegrates the tribal society in terms of its culture, customs, rituals, life style and economic interests and integrates some of its sections with the larger society, on the other."[28]

Doshi follows the thesis propounded by Ghanshyam Shah and K.S.Singh, namely, that the tribals in the process of social formation jump over or by-pass the status of caste and directly attain the class status. He observes:

> "The emerging pattern of tribal polity presents heterogeneous way of integration. The tribals who have acquired landed property and bettery means of production are united with the upper strata of regional society through the capitalist market, money, education and competitive politics. They are in a minority but, nonetheless, the dominant group of the tribe. Another trend of integration is noticeable in the lower strata or disadvantaged strata. The poor tribals belonging to landless peasantry or wage owners have united with the lower strata of the wider society. The national model remains the ideal for both strata of the Bhil society."[29]

LEVELS OF INTEGRATION: REGIONAL AND NATIONAL

When we discuss the problem of tribal integration at various levels of our society it must be stressed that the tribal groups are not all at one stage of development or integration. The integration situation is found at several levels. Ghurye observed long back in thirties that the tribals may be divided into three classes in the context of their integration.[30] First, there are such sections of them as the Rajgonds and others who have successfully fought the bettle, and are recognised as members of fairly high status within Hindu society. Second, there are segments among them who have been partially Hinduized and have come into close contact with Hindus. And third, there are hill tribals who have registered to the alien cultures and have pressed upon their border.

Among those who have been integrated at one or the other level of society, does not seem to be any homogeneity. For instance, it would be wrong to say that all the Bhils have been Hinduised. The Bhil society today has become heterogeneous. There is inequality among them. This is largely due to the

factors of education and above all modernisation that stratification has become a characteristic feature of the Bhils. Perhaps the precise statement would be that in the process of integration there is a valid correspondence in the stratification of the tribe. This appears to be a basic understanding about the tribals, their integration, levels of education and general processes of social formation.

Integration has been defined in different perspectives. To begin with, the Constitution of India stresses the plural ethnic character of Indian society. The outline of Indian national culture is provided by the Constitution in its preamble. The diverse Indian communities—the mojority, the linguistic and religious minorities, and the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes shall endeavour to accomplish integrated nationhood through a process of education and socialization. The Constitution attaches great value to Indian nationhood as a secular democracy. It further earmarks the position of the individuals of all communities in the projected picture of the national polity. The Constitution also determines the ways and means for achieving the national culture, and recommends institutional machinery to achieve it.

Secularism is the first article of faith of Indian democracy. Smith defines a secular state which guarantees freedom of religion to the individual, treats the individual irrespective of his religious beliefs, and is Constitutionally neither connected nor seeks to promote or interfere with religion.[31]

The official position on the integration of scheduled tribes is that the government would not interfere in the culture of the tribal people. There is non-intervention, in the tribal life. Neither does the government interfere in the ethnic life of the other segments of the society, particularly, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Parsees etc. All these ethnic groups including the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have to pull themselves in the national mainstream. The national mainstream consists of the goals given by the Constitution, namely, democracy, secularism, socialism and scientific ethics. Accordingly, the tribals are required to seek their incorporation in the economic and political life of the nation. The tribals and for that matter any ethnic group is free to have their language, customs,

rituals, in short, a cultural life according to their genius. The state is not concerned with it. What the concern of the state is that the ethnic plurality should integrate itself in the economic and political life of the country. Here, political life has wider connotation including political party system, election, management of law and order, police system including judiciary. The legal system or the Indian Penal Code is applicable to all the citizens of the country irrespective of any ethnic particularism In the same way one is required to fall in the economic, that is, financial policies accepted by the governmen'. The government also expects its citizens to follow the educational policy accepted by the government. It is hypothesized that with the incorporation in the wider spheres of political and economic life of the nation, after the passage of time the degree of integration would increase. We thus plan to build and develop a plural society having integration in some crucial areas of life only. To close this section of the chapter it is interesting to refer to the observations made by Nihar Ranjan Ray;

> "We are not for Hinduization. We must realise, we are in a new historical situation. All sections of People within the territorial boundary of India must join hands in a common: productive organisation, which is the mainstream. The participation in the mainstream does not mean the dominance of any particular culture or religious ideology, but rather equal participation by all groups in building up a secular parliamentary democracy."[32]

The elements of tribal integration as have been stressed by Nihar Ranjan Ray consist of the following three aspects:

(i) integration into a common whole, where all diverse cultures, population, geographical regions would be brought together;

(ii) integration into a common productive organisation, and

(iii) integration, into a secular and democratic set-up provided by the Constitution.

OVER-VIEW OF LITERATURE

One of the characteristics of science is that it is cumulative. The present generation of social scientists stands on the shoulders of its preceding generations. The contributions made by social scientists in the field of education in general and education for the tribals in particular, are useful to define the problem of our study and consist some research hypotheses or questions.

Studies on tribals have a long history. The missionaries, orientalists and administrators and at a later stage sociologists and anthropologists studied the tribals. Their interest in the tribals was motivated by ethnography. These authors were interested to draw the portrait of the tribals as unique. The orientalists took a textual view of India offering a picture of its society as being static, timeless and spaceless.[33] "In this view of the Indian society, there was no regional variation and no questioning of the relationship between prescriptive, normative statements derived from the texts and the actual behaviour of individuals of groups. Indian society was seen as a set of rules which every Hindu followed."[34]

The orientalists have described the tribals as wild and sub-human lot of people. They are reported to be living in the hills and forests. They have been referred with various names such as Bhil, Kole, Kirat, Nishad, etc. There are references of the tribals in the Ramayana, the Mahabharat and the UPnishadas. In the Ramayana there is reference of Shabari and Nishad who helped Rama when he was in exile. In the Mahabharat Eklavya is referred as a tribal who aspired to learn archery from Draunacharaya.

The references of the tribals made in the religions texts is not without prejudice. The Indian orientalists have by and large been Hindus belonging to high caste Hindus. They have always referred to the tribals and the untouchables as ugly profiles of the society.

The Missionaries came to India through conquest or colonization. They entered India also as migrant groups. Among the colonising and migrant groups are included Christians, Anglo Indians, Jues, Parsees and Chines. In the historical context the Missionary views developed a little later. According to it the evils of Indian society are found in its religion. The

remedy for the poor condition of the tribals and the untouchables was, therefore, sought in conversion to Christianity. The missionaries treated the Indians, particularly Hindu and tribal institutions as 'degenerate and base.'

The missionaries belonging to various sects worked in the heartland of the tribals in the country along with the territorial borders. Their main objective was to convert the tribals to Christianity professing that the latter would give them better quality of life. They had their hold on the tribals because in the past the Hindu organisations did not work among them. The Christian missionaries were established in the tribal interior part where it was difficult to make an entry because of uncongenial environment.

Approach to tribals was also administrative. It was grounded in the British utilitarian tradition[35] which also viewed traditional institutions—family, caste and panchayat—as impediments to development of a rational society; hence the need for social and institutional reports.

The colonial administrators in India turned social scientists and wrote extensively on Indian society including the tribals. Among the British administrators-turned social scientists may be included Blunt,[36] Enthoven,[37] Hocart,[38] Hutton,[39] Metcalfe,[40] O'Malley,[41] Risley,[42] Rivers,[43] Senart,[44] Stevension,[45] and James Tod.[46]

The British scholars provided vivid accounts of the peoples of India including the tribal groups. They described the tribals tribals in two respects. One, living in the hills and forests (occasionally they created problems of law and order) and, second they had a social structure which had pre-mordial attributes of aboriginal culture. These two attributes of the tribals were fascinating for the British Bureaucrats. They were not concerned with the problem of education. They were viewed only as discrete categories. The British social scientists considered tribal society as segmentary—a discontinuity of Hindu society. They were described as static and changeless. It was in the post-independence period that the Constitution provided certain privileges to the tribals. Their problems received especial attention.

They are being discriminated from 'other'groups on a variety of matters. This discrimination is constitutional safety and security. Studies made in the aftermath of independence have a special context. Before we define and state the problem of our study it is logical to look into the problem of tribal education vis-a-vis their integration in the society in the scientific literature available with us.

The beginning of studies on the tribals of India goes back to the first quarter of 20th century. It was in 1906 that W.H.P. Rivers studied the Todas of Nilgiri Hills.[47] Todas are a nomadic tribal group living on buffalos. Radcliffe Brown another British social anthropologist worked on the Andaman Islanders in 1922.[48] The study by the British officials who worked as social scientists between 1906 and 1952 consists of discriptive Ethnography and speculative ethnology, except for some of the works of Hocart, Bougle, Ghurye and Hutton and some papers by Mendal Baum and Opler.[49]

In the post-independence period studies on the tribals in general became very common. The Constitution gave them some special privileges. The government also

started new programmes for them. As a result of this, many studies were made on the problems of the tribals. Among those authors who worked on the tribals may be included G.S. Ghurye,[50] K.S. Singh,[51] Furer Haimendorf,[52] D.N. Majumdar,[53] T.B. Naik,[54] G.Nag,[55] B.K.Roy Burman,[56] N.K. Bose,[57] Sachchidanand[58] and L.P.Vidyarthi.[59]

All these studies have been ethnographic monographs only. The authors have tried hard to describe a graphic profile of the tribal groups. But the problems which have emerged among the tribals owing to the development of national economy, spread of education and modernization have not been discussed at full length by sociologists and social anthropologists. However, during the last two decades some issue-oriented studies have been brought out. We have extensive studies on tribal education. It was in 1964 that Shri J.P. Naik, Secretary, National Commission on Education convened a National Seminar on Sociology of Education in India in December, 1964. The deliberations which took place in the seminar got published under the title papers in the Sociology of Education in India. The publication was made by the

National Council of Educational Research and Training in July 1967.

J.P. Naik made another proposal for undertaking and extensive field study of the social background the social values, the occupational aspirations and the satisfactions of the major participants in the system of education. The Co-ordinating Committee worked out project outlines and found funds for the two projects. The survey was undertaken in eight states: Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Gujarat, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Punjab and Rajasthan. The series of studies undertaken also collected field data on the education of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The studies are concerned with the students, school teachers, college teachers and parents. The findings of the study show that the tribals and the members of scheduled castes have lagged behind others. The educational backwardness of tribals is largely due to their isolation and poverty.[60] Field studies conducted in the sociology of education are a massive work on tribal education. So far it remains unprecedented.[61]

Suma Chitnis is her studies of the educational problems of deprived groups of Maharashtra[62] argues that

the tribal students have not succeeded in availing of the educational facilities given by the government. She says that the present educational system brings the tribals in the national mainstream but at the same time alienates them from their own society. The present system of education is fraught with many problems and the fate of "the Scheduled Tribes in general is least likely to be considerably improve with the acquisition of education available through it.... if tribals are to be liberated from their backwardness it may be necessary to postpone programmes of literacy and numeracy in their education and accord priority to programmes that make them acquire of their existing situation, conscious of their rights, and knowledgeable and confident enough to fight for their rights."[63]

I.P. Desai has worked among the scheduled tribes of Gujarat in terms of educational development. His study of Gujarat is a part of the larger All India study of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In his findings Desai informs that the number of tribal students at all the levels of education has increased. This is largely due to the educational facilities provided by the government to the tribal students.

According to him education has proved to be an effective agent of change among the tribals.[64] In another study Desai and Pandor examine the role of secondary education in changing the student life.[65]

In seventees some studies were made on the tribal educational problems. Among these are included studies pertaining to wastage, stagnation and female education. These studies are issue-oriented. Wastage in education refers to "dropping out from school before completing education up to a particular terminal stage and the school system namely primary (standard IV Middle (standard VI) high school (matriculation or standard X and XI), higher secondary (standard XII), and graduation from college. Stagnation refers to retention of students in the same class for more than a year. Wastage and stagnation are interrelated phenomina because stagnation results many times into dropping out from schools."[66]

Authors working on Wastage and stagnation have made several approaches to obtain estimates. There are two studies on wastage and stagnation in primary schools of fourteen tribal blocks conducted by TRTI around 1966-67 and 1967-68. The studies show that there has been a decreasing trend of enrolment of

tribal students from standard I to VI. In a large number of blocks, the enrolment of girls in standard II was about one-fourth to one-third of that in standard I, and their enrolment in standard IV was about 10 to 20 per cent of that in standard I. In a study of Block level Planning in Sagwara conducted by Tribal Research Institute, Udaipur in 1978, a steep decrease in enrolment of girls in all primary schools of the Taluka was observed, specially after standard III.[67]

The education Commission (1964-66) has also made observations on the problem of Wastage and Stagnation. It observes that the extent of Wastage and Stagnation is highest in standard I. A study conducted by NCERT on Wastage and Stagnation in Primary and Middle Schools in India found that the total rate of Wastage and Stagnation was 65.30 per cent by the time the students reached standard V and 78.35 per cent, by the time they reached standard VII.[68] The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (1971-72) further shows that the rates of Wastage and Stagnation (1964-65) among the deprived groups are considerably higher than those among the other communities.[69]

In a study conducted by Shah and Patel[70] on the Educational Attainment of the Tribals it is found that there is a negative relationship between the proportion of the non-tribal population and the educational development of the tribals; such a relationship generally continued even when development score and occupation of the household heads were controlled. The proportion of the non-tribals in the various categories of village community was positively related to the proportion of high-caste Hindus, the proportion of household heads holding white-collar jobs, and the educational development of the community as a whole.

R.B. Lal has conducted studies on Wastage and Stagnation among the Tribals who are industrial workers. In his findings he observes:

> "The attitudes of the tribal industrial workers towards education was generally encouraging, the need for looking after their land and available employment opportunities in household work seemed to act as barriers to education."[71]

Lal argues for examining rather particularistic community contexts of tribals which might help us to explain variation in their educational development.

There are yet other studies which relate to the issue of facilities in tribal schools. The tribals have been living in scattered villages and this is a common pattern of habitation among most of the tribals of our country. In this respect the study conducted by Tara Patel among the tribals of Gujarat shows that "a major constraint of the tribals living in small communities is that either they do not have a primary school in their own community of residence and their children have to walk a certain distance to attend school in a nearby village or that they have a single-teacher, one-room school wherein the students of two or more classes sit together for their education. And if the teacher in such a school happens to commute from another place his irregularity in attendance leads inevitably to irregularity and lack of interest among students. Although no hard data are available, it is often reported that in many of the single-teacher schools, a practice of the entering fictitious name on the rolls of the school is in vogue so as to avoid closing down the school in the event of its failure to meet with the criterion of a minimum number of students to be enrolled. It is

apprehended that a part of the steep drop-out rate after standard I is probably attributable to such a practice."[72]

Masavi who has carried out empirical studies in the Valsad district of Ahmedabad worked out relationship between social change and education. He also considers the tribal pattern of residence as a hurdle in tribal education. He found that the proportion of primary schools with standards V to VII was substantially higher, but the proportion of single-teacher schools was substantially lower in the progressive blocks (with a high rate of literacy) than in the backward blocks (with a low rate of literacy.) The teacher/school and the student/school ratios were greater in the progressive blocks than in the backward blocks, and the number of students enrolled and the proportion of girls among them were also greater in the progressive blocks than in the backward blocks.[73]

The Centre For Social Studies, Surat, organised a seminar on "Tribal Education in Gujarat" in January 1984. The papers presented at the seminar have been brought out in the book form.[74] In this book,

problems regarding Tribal Education in Gujarat have been examined empirically. Ghanshyam Shah in his article in the Publication says that "the study clearly suggests that like other benefits education has not been evenly distributed among all social and economic strata of the tribal society. The middle and rich farmers have taken greater advantages of the educational facilities than the poor cultivators and labourers."[75] Vidyut Joshi makes a review of tribal education in Gujarat for a century. In his concluding remarks he says that "several studies on tribal education have consistently shown that the efforts to raise tribal education to a level which would be at par with the education imparted to the other members of the society is a story of failure."[76] S.P.Punalekar[77] who has studied the states of Maharashtra Gujarat and Rajasthan says that overall non-tribal literacy in Rajasthan villages of survey in his study was 56 per cent. The tribal literacy was nearly 14 per cent. He confirms the earlier study made by Ghanshyam Shah that both among the tribals and non-tribals, it is the lower strata which has remained relatively deprived in terms of participation or achievement in the post-primary education in all the three states. One of the severest

problems of tribal students according to Punalekar is non-enrolment which means illiteracy among the children in school going age group. The problem of non-enrolment appears to be critical in all the three states. It is high to the extent of 43 per cent. In other words 4 out of 10 children in the tribal areas in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan do not enroll themselves in schools. They are totally illiterate. "Non enrolment is the highest in Rajasthan villages (47%) compared to that in Maharashtra (44%) or Gujarat villages (34%). All the states taken together, more tribal (56%) than non-tribal children (25%) remain away from the school and school education.

N.K. Ambashta[78] in a full length study discusses some of the problems of tribal education. His field of study has been Ranchi district of Bihar. The author very clearly brings out the role of the Youth dormitory in the socialization process of the Oraon children. He also examines the strengths and weaknesses of the different educational agencies working in the area, namely, the government and the Christian Churches. He shows close relationship between education and economy in so far as the uneven attendance in schools in different seasons is concerned. Rathnaiah[79] deals

with the ecological socio-economic and administrative problems faced by the Rajgonds of Allabad district in Andhra Pradesh. In a detailed study of education among the Oraon, Sita Toppo[80] examines the role of Dhunkuria, the traditional organization for education and socialization in that community. Owing to spread of modern educational system Dhunkuria has disappeared from most Oraon villages.

Sachchidananda[81] in a study of "educational problems of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Bihar" examines various aspects of these problems in respect of college and school students. The temperament of study is attitudinal. The study provides important leads for a change in educational strategy.

Vyas and Choudhary[82] of the Tribal Research Institute Udaipur, Rajasthan have surveyed the problem of drop-outs and stagnation among tribal students. Mandke[83] analyses the educational problems of the Korku of Amravati district of Maharashtra. The author examines the "prevailing educational system among the Korku to find out how far it fulfils the cultural needs of the people." The author has also tried to find out the response of the Korku to the educational system.

There is yet another study on the tribals of Maharashtra conducted in Thane district. A large number of educational institutions are included in this study. In his concluding remark Mutatkar[84] observes:

> "Modern education can succeed in tribal areas only when it seeks to cover the different facts of tribal life. Therefore, educational development should form a part of the general development programme."

S.L. Srivastava and Kumud Pande[85] have attempted to find out the attitudes of the Paraja and Kondha tribes in one village of Orissa towards the education of their children, housing facilities, and family income.

In conclusion of the survey of literature it should be said that in terms of spatial dimension, the state of Gujarat has drawn the highest attention of social scientists. Centre for Social Studies, Surat has developed its specialization in the study of tribal problems. The states which followed Gujarat are Maharashtra, Bihar, Andhra and Rajasthan. There has been a marked change in the approach of studies relating to tribal education. Though social scientists have studied tribal education, their approach has been

generalistic. Issue-oriented studies are hardly any. The problems of tribal education which have been covered by social scientists include non-enrolment, wastage and stagnation. It has been an overall finding that all is not well with tribal education. A quest is urgently required.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Education is not only a process of learning, an effort to build a personality, it is also an agent of social change contributing towards a national society. Our objective has been to build Indian society on the idioms of democracy, socialism and secularism. We want to achieve ethnic plurality and at the same time an integrated nation. The role of education, therefore, is to help different ethnic groups to achieve a national society. We do not argue that in the building up of a national society education is the only factor of achieving this goal. Admittedly, it is one of the many factors. But the problem here is to assess the viability of this factor towards attaining a national society. The viability assessment of education is crucial because in the post-independent India we have studies which argue that education has

ceased to be a factor of social change. There are also studies, however, which demonstrate that education creates sufficient awareness for social change.

Education is not homogeneous. Neither it is monolithic. In itself it is differential. There are in our country different variants of education both at the secondary level and the university level. It is imparted through diverse agencies—government, missionaries, voluntary agencies, sectorial organizations etc. The differential approach to the imparting of education creates differential students and consequently in the long run differential segments in the society. It also creates differential ideologies; capitalistic, socialistic, humanitarian, and so on.

The student population is also hetrogeneous. The inequality in society in terms of caste and class makes the students hetrogeneous. This renders, structurally, inequality of opportunities in the field of education. The situation today in the country is extremely complex. There is differential education. There is differential population of students who constitute clientele to education. How do differentials in educational approach and also structure of students

contribute towards the attainment of national integration? Our guess is that attainment of the goal of national society and for that matter the regional society is also differential. This attainment level of integration through various educational approaches is the substantial problem of present enquiry.

When the social structure of Indian society is differential, characterised by multiple castes, classes, ethnicity, language, and culture, we want to measure and analyse the degree of integration sought by the tribal groups at regional and national levels. The tribal society is particularistic and specific. It is a privileged group for it avails of the benefit of protective discriminations from the society through constitutional safeties and securities. They are bombarded with a heavy package of educational programmes along with other schemes of development. Our problem of study to be precise and certain, is to 'measure' the degree of integration attained through education. The viability of modern educational system, therefore, is assessed and analysed here to develop a modern form of the education of tribals.

WORKING KEY CONCEPTS

We have used certain theoretical constructs in the analysis of tribal education and its role in the attainment of integration. The basic problem of our enquiry is to analyse the role of education among the members of a tribal group in a particular society and finally in the national mainline. In the analysis of problem we have used some concepts, namely, education, integration, region, mainstream, tribe and identity. Though the concepts have been explained elsewhere in details we would put them in precise terms.

INTEGRATION

Integration is not assimilation. In assimilation there is decreasing differentiation between individuals and between groups. In such a situation there is increased degree of unity, attitude, and mental processes with respect to common interests of the goal. And therefore, integration is not homogeneity. It is an organization. A group is said to be integrated in the degree to which its members, its social categories and statuses, and its culture are organised for the achievement of common purposes or goals. The common goals for our country are the norms and values given in the constitution. We want to have integration of the tribals as ethnic groups in the wider national fields

of polity, economy, education, democracy, socialism, secularism and other things which comprise our normative and value structure. In attaining integration, the units tend to maintain their identity.

IDENTITY

Identity is the characteristic trait of a group of a community which provides separate existence to a group. This existence is achieved through ethnic and historical factors. The basic trait of identity is its continuity.

A tribal group can easily be differentiated from other non-tribal groups. This differentiation is largely ethnic and historical. If these tribal groups can maintain themselves separate from other in terms of their ethnicity and history it is this which is their identity.

ETHNICITY

The concept of ethnicity has often been employed by us to depict 'a bundle of primordial' sentiments and ties. Sometimes such an identity is contextually manipulated with rare exceptions. All societies in the modern world contain sub-sections or sub-systems distinct from the rest of the population in a positive

degree. An ethnic group, therefore, is a collectivity existing within a larger society, having real or fictional common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are kinship patterns, localism, religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliation, nationality phenotypical features, or any combination of these. For instance, in our country the ethnic groups consist of scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, Jains, Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Anglo-Indians, etc.

The ethnicity of Bhils consists of their primordial traits of family, kinship, territorial location—pal, pattern of habitation—hills and plains—and the structure of rituals. A Bhil male or a female has separate identity which is easily distinguishable in the region of their residence. For the Bhils today, there is the problem of identity crisis. On one hand they want to integrate themselves in the mainline of regional culture and at the same time retain some of their structural features which provide them separate identity. The question with them is: Can identity and integration in mainstream go together? Does not

integration mean disintegration in their own structure?

REGION

Region for the present enquiry consists of the Tribal Sub-plan Area (TSP) which has sub-regions of Vagar and Mewar. Thus the regional society in TSP area has two sub-regional societies, namely, Vagar and Mewar. In Vagar there are two districts Dungarpur and Banswara which had princely rule prior to the integration of states. The sub-region of Mewar was a separate erstwhile state. When we talk about the integration of Bhils in the Regional society we mean the sub societies or sub-regions of Mewar and Vagar.

MAINSTREAM

Though the Constitutional framers have used the term "mainstream" extensively, nowhere has it been defined. The use of 'mainstream' has been made in respect of the incorporation or involvement of the tribals in the national system. National mainstream presupposes the existence of a national culture. Our constitution is a document which provides our national culture and idioms. Our Preamble is one of the aspects of our national culture. The Constitution attaches great value to Indian nationhood as a secular democracy.

It further earmarks the position of the individuals of all communities in the projected picture of the national polity. Democracy, secularism, socialism and scientific ethics constitute the national mainstream of the country. All the ethnic pluralities of the country have to fall in the mainline. But the mainline civilization or culture consists of regional and sub-regional pluralities. Integration, therefore, has several layers, local, parochial or regional, and national.

HYPOTHESES AND SOME RESEARCH QUESTIONS

At this stage of our research in the field of tribal education when we have very meagre literature, we do not hazard to put some hypotheses for testing in the field. This might perhaps take some more time to come. Instead, on the basis of the researches surveyed about we raise some questions which will enable us to conduct the proposed enquiry. The research questions are as under:

1) What are the specific objectives of education in terms of the tribal groups? Do we think education in general as we have in our country has any particular relevance for the tribals?

In other words, it is interesting to enquire the relationship of modern education with the tribal structural reality.

2) What are the needs of the tribal society resulting from the various forces of social change? What infra-structures in education are stipulated in terms of the needs of the tribal society? We must assess the ethnic structure of the tribal society. How can the ethnic identity in the present context of social change be maintained?

3) What are the characteristics of the regional mainstream?

4) What structural changes are found in the tribal society resulting from the impact of education? To what extent do these structural changes help the tribals to maintain their identity and also their integration in the mainstream?

5) What are the structural gaps which arrest the maintenance of tribal identity and its integration?

6) What alternative measures are expected to fulfil the structural needs of the tribals?

FIELD OF STUDY AND SELECTION OF UNIVERSE

The field of study for the present enquiry has been Tribal Sub-plan Area of the state of Rajasthan. The area has been introduced in the earlier part of this chapter. The selection of Tribal Sub-plan Area is based on the notion that the state of Rajasthan has a substantial number of tribals inhabiting it. It is one of the ten states which has Tribal Sub-plan Area. Keeping in view certain objectives I have selected the tribal region for my study. Tribals constitute the realm of study in the field of education which has remained neglected for long. Enough ethnographic studies have been made on the tribals. Recently some issue-oriented enquiries have also been made. The problems regarding education of the tribals as the overview of literature shows remains untouched. Moreover, I have been born and brought up in the tribal area. This provides me intimacy with the tribals. My relations of the tribals are face to face. These are some of the academic and personal considerations which have guided me to select TSP area of Rajasthan state for study.

My universe of study consists of all the schools to the standard of secondary level. These schools are run through various agencies, namely,

government, voluntary agencies, missionaries and special types of schools known as Ashram schools for the tribals. Besides different types of schools, the students reading in these schools along with their parents, teachers, social and political workers, also constitute the universe of study.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The Tribal Sub-plan Area comprises four districts, namely, Dungarpur, Banswara, Chittorgarh and Udaipur. The district of Sirohi is also included in the TSP area but it has been excluded from the universe as there is a small portion of tehsils which forms a part of the area.

We have drawn our sample units on purposive random sampling method. The objective of purposive sample is defined in terms of the viability of a unit that is school and other characteristics which constitute the universe. We have thus selected 24 schools for our study. Out of these schools 16 are run by government, 6 are Ashram schools and 2 missionary ones. These categories of schools represent the aggregate character of the universe. Related to the schools are the units of students,

social and political workers and guardians. Out of the total students we have drawn a sample of 300 for administration of schedule and a sample of 200 informants who are social and political workers, tribal leaders, teachers and guardians. Thus our total sample units of students and others consists of 500. The units of our study are, therefore, schools, students and social, political, teacher, worker, guardian, informants. The sample size has been 500 only.

PROBLEMS OF FIELD WORK

Data for the present study have been generated by employing the tools of schedule, case study, interview and observation. Two types of schedule have been prepared; one type of schedule is administered to students and the other one to teachers, guardians and others. A few case studies have also been conducted. Observation schedules have been applied in certain situations.

While writing about the tools of data generation some of my crucial observations need to be mentioned. While initiating the study I took a departure from using even a three-point scale. I strongly believe that the tribals who are illiterates and

cannot make out, two plus two, can respond to questions of any point scale. And my fieldwork has strengthened my position. Construction of any scale for the tribals in the realm of integration and education can hardly be developed.

While conducting field work I also found that the use of schedule in generating primary data is also limited. It goes very well so far collection of factual and hard data is concerned. But when opinions are sought much is left to the manipulation of the researcher. I have stressed on the use of observation technique and case study as dependable methods of data collection. Add to it the historical explanation. All through the present study, I have largely depended on the historical conditioning of the region. The study has given me a lesson that only empirical and statistical analyses do not provide sufficient insight in the matter. My experience of conducting fieldwork on the tribal area very vividly shows, that empirical and statistical explanations need to be supported through data generated by making small and little histories of the region, preferably participant observation and conducting of case study.

LIFE SPAN OF THE PROJECT

The present project was sanctioned in the month of November, 1986 and was brought to down to ground in the month of April. Field work for the study was conducted for more than one year. The total lifespan of the project was one and a half years, closing by the end of October.

ORGANIZATION

Running a project is like running an organization. As principal investigator of the project, I prepared the general blueprint of the study to be implemented in the field. I took a few rounds of some of the selected villages of the Tribal Sub-plan Area. This provided me an opportunity of establishing contacts with knowledgable persons. I could also consult some literature which was available in the local libraries pertaining to the tribals of the region.

After completing my casual tours, I set on the task of preparing the tools, selection of sample villages and the recruitment of staff. The selection of sample village was made in consultation with development officers, Vikas Adhikaries, educational

administrators and workers belonging to voluntary agencies. The tools were okayed after my completing their pre-testing.

The investigators were given a small training course for about a week. Accompanied by me they were jointly given a round to some of the schools of tribal villages. A team of two investigators, one incharge of two districts, was entrusted with the field work. The case studies were conducted by me personally. I also prepared social evidence out of history. The thinking in writing part of the whole project has been done by me. As lady investigator I did not have to encounter any special difficulties in the field. Wherever I went the schools were my resort. They were both my host and guide. I have strongly developed the idea that conducting of fieldwork by a teacher among the students and teachers, is always a facilitating job. I have found the tribals particularly the students very hospitable. I have enjoyed working with them. They are a shy, honest and hard-working lot of mankind.

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15. In the empirical literature created by sociologists and anthropologists we have huge data which show that the process of peasantisation among the Bhils has attained maturity. On secular terms these authors argue that education has contributed substantially in the process of peasantisation. The direction of transformation in this respect is from tribe to peasant and peasant to national class. See in this respect Jaganath Pathi, Tribal Peasantry: Dynamics of Development, op.cit.

The economists also support the thesis that due to modernisation including education the tribals have entered into a secular mode of production. There is a debate on the Mode of production in agricultural economics. The main question is whether the mode of production is capitalistic pre-capitalistic, semi-feudal, colonial, semi-colonial, dual or multiple. Among the economists who argue that the mode of production in agriculture is capitalistic include Ashok Rudra, "In Search of the Capitalist farmer", Economic and Political Weekly, V(26), 85-7, "India and the Colonial Mode of Production, Comment Economic and Political Weekly IX (48), 1668-9; Deniel Thorner. The Shaping of Modern India, New Delhi, Allied, 1980 On the other hand, there are those who argue that the mode of production in agriculture is 'non capitalistic or 'pre-capitalistic. This view is supported by Utsa Patnaik, A. Bhaduri and Ranjit Sau. See in this respect Patnaik, "Capitalist Development in Agriculture", Economic and Political Weekly, VI (39), pp. 123-30; Bhaduri A. "An Analysis of Semi-feudalism in East India", Frontier VI, (11-14) 25-7, and Sau Ranjit, "Can Capitalism Develop in Indian Agriculture?" Economic and Political Weekly, XI (52), 126-36.

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CHAPTER III

REGIONAL MAINLINE

The major theme of the present enquiry is to discuss the integration of tribals in the national mainstream. In this analysis we take into consideration the role of modern education in bringing about tribal incorporation in the wider society. Education has been considered as a variable to the standard of secondary level. Our assumption has been that all the tribals of a region have not attained in the same level of development. In a particular region there is development differentiation. The acceptance of

education is also differential. This has made us to take four tribal groups for analysing the level of integration. Integration is a process. It is not necessary that a person jumps over all the structures from his own structure to the national structure. However, this may happen for some groups but it is also possible that for ordinary level of tribal groups the first level of integration is at the regional level and then at the national level. It is also possible that a group seeks his incorporation in some of the areas at the regional level and for a few at the national level. The present enquiry has a thrust to identify the areas at the regional level which seek the integration of tribal groups.

For our study we have taken up four scheduled tribe groups of the Tribal Sub-plan Area of the state of Rajasthan. Before the Fifth Five Year Plan progress in the area had already been made through the tribal development block. During the third and the fourth plans it was realized by a working committee of planning commission that programmes under the tribal development blocks did not work satisfactorily for achieving the objectives for which they were initially

started. The fifth five year plan evolved a new strategy. It was decided that the tribal area should be divided into three distinct categories. First, areas where the tribals were in a majority; second, areas where the tribals were scattered and third, areas where the scheduled tribes were still leading a primitive life. For the tribals in the first category, the adoption of regional development programme is feasible, for it is indisputable that without regional development the development of the common people is just not possible. Therefore, the initial step of demarcating the tribal areas should be taken and a definite plan of the overall development of these regions should be prepared. It is this type of plan has been given the form of a sub-plan. For the tribals belonging to the second category the regional projects did not seem to be appropriate. Therefore, special programmes had to be devised for the tribals living in those areas. How the various development programmes can a benefit these scattered backward classes, is an important question which needs consideration. The problems of these scattered tribals are more serious than those of the tribals belonging to the first category. In areas where the tribals are in a larger

number, they are still the owners of their land and forest. Compared with these groups the tribals under the second category have to rely heavily on physical labour for their livelihood.

Regarding the main objectives of the Sub-plan, it has been accepted in principle that the programmes for tribal development should be made only after considering the specific conditions and problems of an area. Thus the programmes undertaken should be able to solve the problems of the tribals. This is the level at which we have to build a structure of basic policy which would be absolutely different from the general concepts usually associated with designing most of the other general programmes.

The TSP area consists of the districts of Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Dungarpur, Banswara and Sirohi. Dungarpur and Banswara have been included in its TSP in their entirely while only seven tehsils of Udaipur, two of Chittorgarh and one of Sirohi have been included in the area. The criterion for inclusion in the TSP is that the numerical strength of the tribals in the tehsils should be more than fifty per cent to the general population.

The tribal area development department conducted a bench mark data of the TSP area. The data generated by the department show that the total number of villages covered comes to 4489. In terms of the number of families the TSP area has 400037 families.

The tribal groups which are found in the TSP area mainly included Bhil, Meena, Naika and Garasia. Among these groups numerically the Bhils are the largest group, constituting 54.40 per cent of the tribal population. The Minas stand second (29.60 per cent) while Garasia, Naika, Damor form the remaining 16 per cent.

It is interesting to find out the population structure in terms of Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and the number of families of this group in the TSP area. Such a description of the population composition would help us to analyse our data in proper context. The data are given in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1

Population Composition of Scheduled Tribes, Castes and their Families in the TSP area

S. No.	District	Group-wise families and their percentage			Total
		Scheduled Tribe	Scheduled Caste	Other groups	
1.	Udaipur	88,198 (63.98)	5,372 (3.90)	44,273 (32.12)	137848 (100.00)
2.	Chittorgarh	15,435 (51.89)	2,603 (8.75)	11,707 (39.36)	29745 (100.00)
3.	Dungarpur	64,340 (64.95)	3,798 (3.83)	30,925 (31.27)	99063 (100.00)
4.	Banswara	92,683 (75.43)	4,808 (3.91)	25,377 (20.65)	122868 (100.00)
5.	Sirohi	6,879 (65.40)	550 (5.23)	3,089 (29.37)	10518 (100.00)
	TOTAL	267,535 (66.38)	17,131 (4.28)	1,15,371 (28.84)	400037 (100.00)

The TSP area constitutes about 61 per cent population to the general population of the area. Compared with this the population of Scheduled Castes is very meagre (4.28 per cent). Interestingly enough

the non-tribal groups in the TSP area are a little more than one fourth. Thus, it is very clear that the overwhelming culture of southern Rajasthan is tribal. The population of the non-tribal groups is only marginal. Thus, the comprehensive social profile of the TSP area is that it has a population of the disadvantaged groups which is 70.66 per cent of the total population. Interestingly enough the non-tribal groups which could numerically be called the marginal groups rule over the whole area. It is they who run the system; it is they who rule the region: it is they who appropriate the surplus. These data are not generated by us. They are official data. Ours is only their analysis.

The family size of the Bhils of the TSP area varies from 5.59 members per family to 6.11. Larger families are found in Dungarpur and Banswara. Compared to the family size of the Bhils, the scheduled castes have an average size of members to 5.54. The non-tribal groups have an average size 5.71 members per family. This leads us to say that the Bhil family size in TSP area of the state consists of 6.02 members.

A large number of Tribals (89.90 per cent) in the TSP area are engaged in agriculture. The rest of the population works as agricultural labourers (9.65 per cent).Some are engaged in animal husbandry (0.92 per cent)., mining (0.46 per cent), domestic work (0.08 per cent) and other minor occupations (0.22 per cent). Migration among the tribals is negligible (0.73 per cent).

There is very little cultivable land in the TSP area. Out of this land 54.91 tribal families own land between 1 to 5 hectares. Out of this category of land-owners 42.21 per cent families hold land which is less than 1 hectare. Thus 97.12 per cent families possess land which is less than 5 hectares. Those having land more than 5 hectares constitute only 2.88 per cent families. All this indicates very vividly that little less than half of the tribal families (42.21 per cent) own land which is less than one hectare. It raises the question: Can the majority of tribals (97.12 per cent) who have land below one hecture survive and feed themselves?

If we compute the land holdings making allowance for the tribal population, it would be found that

during the last two decades the size of land-holdings, per family has gone down considerably. The following table would show the increasing size of land-holdings in the three tribal-intensive districts of the TSP area.

Table 3.2

Decreasing size of Land-holdings in the Districts of TSP Area (in hectares)

District	Average size of holding		
	1970-71	1975-76	1980-81
1. Banswara	2.5	2.2	1.8
2. Dungarpur	2.1	1.6	1.7
3. Udaipur	2.2	2.1	1.84
4. State Level	5.4	4.6	4.4

The analysis of the nature of land ownership and the size of land holding show that the tribal possesses very little land. Whatever is possessed by him is further being fragmented due to disintegration in the family or sale of land with the tribals. However, the decreasing size of land is a national phenomenon; but among the tribals it has become

rather conspicuous. For instance, in the year 1970-71 the average size of land-holding with the tribals of Banswara was 2.5 hectares and within the period of ten years it was reduced to 1.8 hectares. Similar is the trend in Dungarpur and Udaipur districts.

The rate of literacy in the tribal areas continues to be lower than the state average. In the 1951 census the state average of literacy was 8.96 per cent. In the same census it was reckoned as 5.21, 4.63 and 8.20 per cent respectively for Dungarpur, Banswara and Udaipur. In the census of 1981 the state literacy rate was computed to be 24.38. It stood at 18.48, 16.78 and 22.01 per cent respectively for the district of Dungarpur, Banswara and Udaipur.

A social portrait of the TSP area, as we have depicted in the earlier section, points that the region suffers from general backwardness. The infrastructure of the prerequisites which are essential for development are very inadequate. Land, which is the major occupation of an overwhelming portion of people, is continuously decreasing in size. Even the newly-constructed dams have not brought the irrigated areas of the TSP at par with the other irrigated areas of the state. The

situation of infrastructure found in the TSP area is undoubtedly challenging.

TRIBAL TRANSFORMATION: THE EMERGING TRENDS OF STRATIFICATION

In the earlier chapter we have mentioned that the tribal social differentiation has passed through two historical periods: the pre-conquest of Rajputs and the colonial and feudal period. During these two periods the tribals got some stratification. After the attainment of independence, there emerged a new kind of social stratification which we proposed to discuss in some detail in the present inquiry. Ideologically, the new stratification is not on the pattern of caste hierarchy or Hindu idiom. P.K. Bose rightly observes: "In earlier times, when tribes came in contact with the Hindus, the caste ideology was the dominant ideology of the economic system and, willingly or unwillingly, tribes had to assume a rank in the overall caste system. However, in the modern time, ideology of caste system, is no longer the dominant ideology; again, the tribes today are directly interacting with the market network, the regional and the national economy without the mediation of caste,

and some sections of them, at least, are influenced by commercial capitalist system. Modern technological development and the growth of the market network is beyond the boundaries of the caste system; on the contrary, castes are decisively influenced by these factors and so, as we shall see, are the tribes."[1]

TRIBAL TRANSFORMATION AND THE EMERGING TRENDS

In the present framework of our national society where caste holism is denied by the constitution, one would like to look for a type of stratification among the tribes which is based on secular hierarchy. As elsewhere, the tribals of southern Rajasthan are also affected by the processes of planned and unplanned change and by the continuous structural and institutional schisms in rural India, as are the non-tribals.

After the aftermath of independence the tribals witnessed massive social change. It is largely due to the fact that the constitution has given safeties and securities to the tribals. They have been given certain privileges. Their positions are reserved in the Panchayat, the assembly and the parliament. In public

services also a percentage of the scheduled tribes is drawn from the protective discrimination given by the government. The philosophy behind these constitutional privileges is that the tribals in the past have been exploited by the non-tribal society. They as the first settlers to the country were deprived of all the benefits which the late comers have availed themselves of. Then these groups have remained buried, in poverty, illiteracy, and general backwardness for centuries together. Their plight is unprecedented. Initially, the constitutional privileges were given only for ten years. Later, at the instance of the Parliament these privileges have been extended up to January 28, 1890.

The history of tribal development during this period has been a chequered one. Admittedly, there has been development. But it has been uneven. Progress and prosperity is witnessed in and around the region of southern Rajasthan. If we wished we could have a rosy picture. Modernity seems to have become an idiom of the district of Banswara and Dungarpur. Of late, Banswara was alleged to be Kala Pani i.e. and inaccessible country from all sides by the outsiders.

Similar was the condemnation for Dungarpur. The tehsils of Ohadol and Kotra-Bhomat of the Udaipur district are even today considered to be the most difficult areas for any approach. Turning away from this "historical" backwardness of the area, one would now see signs of modernity everywhere. Two wheelers including scooters, motorbikes and mopeds dominate the road. It is a common sight to see lorries and tractors with trailers bringing agricultural produce to the market towns. The backdrop to this lively scene is the intensively cultivated fields and water, implements and field labourers, which are seen there nearly the whole year around.

But the gloomy side of this rosy picture of modernisation is also equally striking. We quote here Ghanshyam Shah in this respect of Gujarat and Bihar:

"...one witnesses prosperity, green fields and busy factories. Well-dressed people, cars and tractors, multi-storyed houses and electrified villages are conspicuously visible to any visitor. A few kilometres away from the central belt, one is against at the sharp constrast-hilly land and barren fields, small huts, rough and half-clad and half-

starved people."[9]

The description which relates to Gujarat can very well apply to the under-developed parts of the TSP area. The social distance between big-farmers and landless labourers is very striking.

The acceleration of the process of tribal transformation in the hills and plains started with the irrigation system and the changing crops in the region. The Bhils had taken to agriculture as a part of subsistence economy. With the coming of irrigation facilities initially through wells and recently through canals, they have taken to the crops of paddy, wheat, pulses, sugarcane, cotton and groundnut. The Bhils who accepted some of these new crops improved their economic status and thereby creating an economic differentiation among the members of the tribe.

The intensification of production can also be explained by the introduction of new cultivation practices in 1962-63. The use of improved seeds, fertilizers, better implements and the need for good water management created further differentiation among the members of the tribes. Government lays emphasis on boosting production of foodstuffs among the tribals

without caring for the increasing differentiation among the members of the tribe. Agrarian modernisation has largely resulted in creating differential segments in a single tribe. It can be said that the greater is the development in a tribe the sharper is its differentiation.

Agrarian modernisation has, in fact, introduced capitalistic agriculture among the tribals. There has been an increase in the number of cattle. But this development is not without differentiation. Poultry keeping which has been developed by the tribals has also divided the Bhils into poor and rich. The crops, sugarcane, cotton and paddy have given market orientation to the tribal production.

If we review the trends of tribal transformation in the TSP area during the last three decades in the field of agriculture, irrigation and animal husbardry it would be observed that the region has witnessed an infrastructural, technological and organisational change. Mechanisation in agriculture has come and capitalism in farm produce is there. The contribution of the government agency in the diersification of rural production is commendable indeed. Some new sources of employment in terms of government services have also

been opened by the government. The tribals who have reserved seats in government and public sectors have got employment so some extent.The result of tribal agricultural transformation has consequently created social differentiation among the people.

The changes witnessed by the tribal society of the TSP area could further be elaborated and a full note may be appended on the increasing poverty of the tribals resulting from agricultural modernisation largely introduced by the government. Migration which was almost non-existent among them has come into practice in a big way. The small farmers, the landless labourers and the tribal marginal groups have become depeasantized and in the longer end have got pauperised. One would like to ask the question: What is the direction of this target-oriented massive change among the tribals? In which areas of tribal life are the changes more conspicuous? Is there any impact of change in different sections of the population? What are the consequences of such changes on the tribe as a group? What is the state of affairs in the tribal identity, ethnicity and integration? Is social differentiation towards caste hierarchy or class hierarchy

EDUCATIONAL SCENE IN TSP AREA

The development of human resources in tribal areas has been given emphasis right from the first plan. As mentioned earlier during the feudal period education was thought to promote awakening and rejection of the native rule. The rate of literacy during the period was negligible. Independence and the creation of a democratic welfare state led to opening of schools even in remote areas. The literacy rate for the districts of Udaipur, Dungarpur and Banswara of TSP area is given below:

Table 3.3

Extent of Literacy in TSP Area

Year	Literacy Rate		
	Udaipur	Dungarpur	Banswara
1951	8.20	5.21	4.63
1961	13.60	10.44	8.79
1971	17.41	14.31	12.42
1981	22.01	18.42	16.85

The situation of the functioning of schools right from primary to higher secondary level has also

improved. The data for a cumulative period of ten years are given below:

Table 3.4

Situation of the Number of Different Schools in TSP Area (1985)

Standard of School	Frequency
1. Primary School	2665
2. Upper Primary School	650
3. Secondary School	191
4. Higher Secondary School	54
5. College	4
6. Ashram School	22
7. Adult Education Centres	600
8. Non-formal Education Centres.	400

Source of data: Rajasthan, Seventh Five Year Plan for Tribal Development (1985-90), Tribal Area Development Department Rajasthan, Udaipur.

To increase literacy among tribals various incentives are given to tribal children reading in schools and colleges. These include:

1. Grant of scholarships
2. Free board and lodging in hostels and Ashram Schools
3. Provision of stationery, books and uniform.

The number of students enrolled at various levels of education is given in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

Enrolment Situation of Tribal Students

Level of School	Students		Total
	Boys	Girls	
Class I to V	194000	68000	2,62,000
Class VI to VII	41000	10000	51,000

In the field of universalisation of education in the age group 6 - 14, the response given by tribal students is very poor. In the TSP area the non-tribal students between 6 - 11 age group attained 91.74 per cent universalization, and in the age group 11-14, it was 73.33 per cent. During the Sixth Plan in the case of Scheduled Tribe children in the age group 6 - 11 the enrolment was 69.59 per cent and in 11 - 14 age group it was 26.53 per cent. In the case of scheduled tribe

girls belonging to 6 - 11 age group the enrolment was only 30.42 per cent and in 11 – 14 age group it was 10.19 Percent. It all shows that the tribal children in the age group 6 – 14 do not come to school for one reason or the other. It may further be said that compared to non-tribal students, the tribal students lag behined considerably.

A PROFILE OF SCHEDULED TRIBE GROUPS OF TSP AREA

According to the census of 1981 the scheduled tribes declared by the President vide the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes orders (Amendment) Act 1976. (No.108 of 1976, dated the 18th September, 1976), are as under:

1. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungari Bhil, Dungari Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasave
2. Bhil Mina
3. Damor, Damaria
4. Dhanks, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi
5. Garasia (excluding Rajput Garasia)
6. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Katkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari.

7. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna
8. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha
9. Mina
10. Naikada, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka
11. Patelia
12. Seharia, Sehria, Saharıya

Out of the total[3] tribal groups found in the state, Mina, Bhil, Garasia, Saheria, Damor, and Bhil-Mina constitute the major tribal groups in the state. The Minas were once a force to reckon with as they held power over a large part of Rajasthan previous to the advent of the Rajputs. After they were run over, those loyal to the new rulers were granted lands. Literacy among them is very low. While there are 9.6 per cent males which are literate the corresponding figure for females is only 0.3 per cent in other words 1 out of 10 males and 1 out of 362 females are literates. The tribe has a very low educational level even in the urban areas.

Except in the Ajmer district where the Minas are not included as Scheduled Tribe, the members of the group are spread all over the state but are mostly concentrated in Jaipur, Sawai Madhopur and Udaipur district where over 51 per cent of their population resid

The Bhils who have a numerical strength below the Minas are an ancient tribe. Literacy in the community is very low. On a broader way 1 out of 20 males and 1 out of 408 females are literates. The Bhils are spread all over the state but are mostly concentrated in the districts of Banswara, Dungarpur and Udaipur where 68 per cent of their total population resides. Around 40 per cent of the members of the tribe speak Bhili and its allied dialect called Wagadi and these speakers belong to Banswara and Dungarpur district. Bhils living in other areas, appear to have taken to the local dialects.

The Garasias derive their name from the Sanskrit world 'Gras' meaning a morsel or subsistence. According to tradition, over six hundred years ago the Chauhan Rajputs of Jalor when defeated fled to the hills where subsequently they settled on the grant of a subsistence. They overpowered the Bhils, who were the inhabitants of the region, and to pacify them also parted with some subsistence in their favour. These Bhil Grass-holders came to be known as the Garasias who are now listed as a scheduled tribe. They profess the Hindu religion.

Literacy is extremely low in the community. Female literacy is negligible while amongst the males also it is as low as 2.5 per cent. They are located mainly in Sirohi, Udaipur and Pali districts where 99.8 per cent of their total population resides.

Damors have migrated from Gujarat. They are divided into two sub-divisions one claiming a higher descent and on that account a higher social status than the other. The group professes Hindu religion. The rate of literacy among Damors is low, it being 6.5 per cent for males and 0.4 for females. Most of their population is located on the Rajasthan - Gujarat border in the Dungarpur district which constitutes 78.4 per cent of their total population in the state.

Our present enquiry has studied intensively the above mentioned four tribal groups namely, Mina, Bhil, Damor and Garasia. The other two groups which have some significance in the state are Sahariya and Bhil Mina. Sahariya are said to be the most backward of all the scheduled tribe of the state. They appear to form a marginal tribal group on the caste/tribe border. Literacy is the lowest among them. While only 2.3 per cent of males are literate, the number of female literates among them is as low as 0.2 per cent. The

Sahariyas are located in the district of Kota, Jhalawar, Udaipur, Dungarpur, Jaipur, Sawai Madhopur, Bharatpur and Churu with their main concentration in Kota district where 99.2 per cent of them reside.

The Bhil Mina constitute the smallest group among the tribal population of the state. They are mostly found in Ajmer district where Bhil Minas are not a schedule tribe. By all standards they seem to be a section of the Bhil community which during the course of last five decades have started styling themselves as Bhil Minas with a view to establishing their proximity to Minas and thereby attaining higher social status in the region which has concentration of population of the Mina tribe. Members of this tribe, found in Dungarpur and Banswara, also appear to have been influenced by the same idea in observing the name of their community. All the Bhil Minas profess the Hindu religion. Among all the scheduled tribes of the state literacy is the highest among the Bhil Mina, not only among the males but among females also. It is 14.9 per cent among males and 5.8 per cent among females.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF STUDENTS

The student sample for the study consisted of 300 students selected from four districts, four tribal groups and three types of educational institutions namely, common government schools, Ashram schools, and schools run by voluntary agencies including mission schools. The earlier chapter on the sampling procedure adopted for the study has listed the names of the districts and the names of the tribal groups. To begin with, the sample selected for the study is regarded by us as representative of the students from upper primary to secondary level. The generalizations made on the sample is supposed to have bearing on the educational situation and the trends of tribal integration of the region. In this chapter we will describe some of the demographic and social background and characteristics the sample comprising of students, parents, social workers, and leaders. Specifically, the characteristics discussed will be age, sex, language, religion, educational and occupation background. These characteristics are described because they enable us to gain a perspective of the differential distribution of the student, and parents population of different districts on these characteristics

and may enable us to anticipate and understand the differences in their responses to attitudinal and behavioural questions which will be discussed later.

AGE

The age of the student at various stages of education depends upon his age of entry into the educational system. It is generally assumed that 6 year is the right age for a child to enter school. There is considerable variation upon the age of entry in the tribal society. The tribals have a very vague idea about the birth of a child. No record in this respect is maintained by them. All they do is to associate the event of birth with some occasion or event. And, therefore, the age that we have calculated is the one which is entered in the school record. Obviously, there is variation in the actual age of the student and his recorded age.

The students included in our sample vary from class VI to X. It is found that out of 300 students 35.3 per cent belong to age group 10 – 13; 32.0 per cent to 14 – 15 and 32.7 above 15. The size of students at various levels more or less remains the same, that is, varying from 32 to 35 per cent. On the whole the

student sample of this study is very young in age. They all fall within 10 to 15 and above age group.

TRIBAL GROUPS

The data on tribals obtained in the study include four tribal groups namely, Bhil, Mina, Damor, and Garasia. In fact Mina, Damor and Garasia are the three sub tribal groups of the extended Bhil tribal group. The racial characteristics of all the tribal groups are the same. There concentration pockets also remain the same. One very special feature of these tribal groups is that they are located at the borders of erstwhile states or the present states.

Out of the student sample of 300, 97 students, that is, 32.3 per cent belong to Bhil tribe. The Minas numbering 143 account for 47.7 per cent. The Damor and Garasia who have numerical size in the sample of 22 and 38 constitute 7.3 and 12.7 per cent. It must be said that the size of the sample students is not proportional to the size of the tribal groups in any defined ratio from one district to another. The size has been determined on the clear-cut understanding that it carries the attributes of the universe.

The student sample falls within two broader educational levels, namely, upper primary level and secondary level. About 50 per cent of students are found in upper primary education, while about 49 per cent belong to secondary level.

SEX COMPOSITION

The student sample can also be analysed in terms of sex and gender. It is found that out of the sample of 300 students, 278, that is, 92.7 per cent are boys while 22 (7.3%) are girls. The smaller size of females is due to the fact that female education is lesser in all the tribal groups of our study.

Lesser number of females in the student sample is explained by the fact that their gender activities keep them busy in doing the household work. Normally the schools run during the earlier hours of the day when the girls are busy cleaning the cattle shed, fetching water and doing other lighter tasks which have to be completed during forenoon hours. This discourages the girls to attend the schools.

STUDENTS AND THE TYPES OF SCHOOLS

We have taken for our present study(1). The common government schools (2) Ashram schools and (3) Christian missionary schools. Our sample of 300 students belongs to these three types of schools. Out of the total student numerial strength, 59.3 per cent belong to government common schools, 24.0 to Ashram schools, and 16.7 to Christian missionary schools. Though the number of students is not proportionate to the general strength of the students of all the three types of institutions, it is representative of the character of school differentiation in the Tribal Sub-plan area.

The student sample is drawn from four districts of TSP area. Out of the total student sample, 30.0 per cent belong to Udaipur district, 23.3 to Chittorgarh, 23.3 to Banswara, and the same percentage from Dungarpur

LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

The student sample speak Bhili dialect when they have conversation with the members of their own group or the residents of the same village or Pal. But when they have conversation in the school or with non-tribal groups they are reported to speak Hindi, which is the medium of instruction in the schools of the

state. One is struck to find a Bhil boy reading in Upper primary school speaking in fluent Hindi. Even if the stranger speaks in Vagadi or Mewari dialect, the student would stick to speaking in Hindi. Language, therefore, is no bar for the incorporation of tribal students in the regional and wider society.

Our information regarding religion is characterised by few blanks or no responses. Most of the tribal students have reported to belong to Hindu religion. Their percentage varies from 61 in Udaipur district to 94 in Banswara district. It appears the old controversy of animism versus Hinduism seems to be on decline. The new generation of students style themselves as Hindu and exhibit all Hindu mannerism including the celebration of Hindu festivals.

EDUCATION OF STUDENTS' FAMILY MEMBERS

Generally in the non-tribal societies the datum on fathers' education has a special significance in understanding the social background of the students. On the one hand we expect that parents who are themselves educated are better motivated to provide education to their children, and are, in fact better equipped to help them get it. On the other hand

education is looked upon as one of the major channels of upward mobility in a modern society. This necessarily assumed that a proportion of students in schools is drawn from homes where the parents themselves have no education. To what extent are the tribal students drawn from homes where the parents already have some education and to what extent from homes where parents have no education? Is there any relationship between the level of parents' education and the level of education attained by the child.

For the tribal society, experience of education goes back to about four decades. The students' father of is expected to be literate if he belongs to post independent India. Normally 75 – 85 per cent of India's population is illiterate. The percentage of illiteracy is higher in tribal areas than in urban areas and it is higher among women than among men. But allowing for all these variations the number of illiterate fathers in the student sample of our study comes to 51 per cent only. Interestingly enough, 34.3 per cent fathers have got education to the level of primary and 14.7 per cent to secondary. District-wise data show that frequencies in Udaipur are the highest (30%)

followed by even percentage of 23.3 of Chittorgarh, Banswara and Dungarpur. The higher scores of Udaipur can be explained by the fact that compared to other districts Voluntary Agencies have been more active here in this district. The data are given below:

Table 3.6

Father's Level of Education (District-wise)

(Percentage of total)

Districts	Illiterate fathers	Fathers primary level education	Fathers secondary level education	Total
Udaipur	38 (42.2)	41 (45.6)	11 (12.2)	90 (30.0
Chittorgarh	51 (72.9)	11 (15.7)	8 (11.4)	70 (23.3
Banswara	34 (48.6)	30 (42.9)	6 (8.6)	70 (23.3
Dungarpur	30 (42.9)	21 (30.0)	19 (27.1)	70 (23.3
Total	153 (51.0)	103 (24.3)	44 (14.7)	300 (100.0)

Fathers' education in terms of four tribal groups of our study could also be analysed. The data generated by us show that the frequency of education of

fathers is the highest among Minas (47.7%) followed by Bhils (32.3%), Garasias (12.7%) and Damors (7.3%). Details are given in Table 3.7.

Table 3.7

Fathers' Level of Education (According to Tribal group)

	(Percentage of Total)			
Tribal group	Illiterate fathers	Fathers primary level education	Fathers secondary level education	Total
Bhil	41 (42.3)	36 (37.1)	20 (20.6)	97 (32.3)
Mina	80 (55.9)	42 (29.4)	21 (14.7)	143 (47.7)
Damor	13 (59.1)	8 (36.4)	1 (4.5)	22 (7.3)
Garasia	19 (50.0)	17 (44.7)	2 (5.3)	38 (12.7)
Total	153 (51.0)	103 (34.3)	44 (14.7)	300 (100.0)

MOTHERS' EDUCATION BACKGROUND

The education of mother in the family has a great impact in the education of children and also in creating a developmental situation for the whole family. We have tried to analyse the co-relation

between female education with the district and the tribal groups. The data generated in this respect show that on aggregate level compared to male the female education is very poor (7.3%). If we analyse the female education level at inter-district level it is found that the scores of female education are higher (30%) compared to the other three districts. We give below the data in table 3.8.

Table 3.8

Mothers' Education at District Level in TSP Area

	(Percentage of Total)		
District	Illiterate	Literate	Total
Udaipur	85 (94.4)	5 (5.6)	90 (30.0)
Chittorgarh	69 (98.6)	1 (1.4)	70 (23.3)
Banswara	64 (91.4)	6 (8.6)	70 (23.3)
Dungarpur	60 (65.70)	10 (14.3)	70 (23.3)
Total	278 (92.7)	22 (7.3)	300 (100.0)

The educational background of the family in terms of women's education can also be discussed at the level of the four tribal groups taken for our study.

Data in this respect shows that the percentage of female education is higher among Minas 47.7 per cent followed by Bhils (32.3%), Garasias' (12.7%) and Damors (7.3%). Among the tribal groups of the state in general and the tribal groups of TSP area in particular, the Minas are an advanced group. Women among them, therefore, have naturally higher scores compared to Bhils. Data in this respect are given below:

Table 3.9

Background of Female Education in Different Tribal Groups

(Percentage of total)

Tribal group	Illiterate	Literate	Total
Bhil	85 (87.6)	12 (12.4)	97 (32.3)
Mina	136 (95.1)	7 (4.9)	143 (47.7)
Damor	20 (90.9)	2 (9.1)	22 (7.3)
Garasia	37 (97.4)	1 (2.6)	38 (12.7)
Total	278 (92.7)	22 (7.3)	300 (100.0)

We have made an attempt to look at the educational background of the child in terms of his/her enrolment in different types of schools. While discussing the association of educational background of family with the school type our understanding is that it is cheaper to get education in a government school compared to any other school. However, enroling in an Ashram school is the most comfortable and convenient one for the school meets all the education needs of the student, besides providing facilities for residence, meals and uniform. But the difficulty with the Ashram school type is that their number in a district is very small. Admission in the school is also merit-based. Schools run by Christian missions are surely cheaper but they are available only where there is intensive concentrative of Christian families. Their number is also limited.

The data generated on the educational background of females and enrolment in a different type of school show that where both the parents are educated, there is higher percentage of admission (59.3) in government schools followed by Ashram (24.0%) and Christian mission (16.7%) Christian mission schools. It appears that the

is favourable association between parental education and admission to government schools. We give below the data in Table 3.10.

Table 3.10

Parent's Educational Background and Enrolment in School Types

(Percentage of total)

Types of School	Educated Members				Total
	Illiterate		Literate		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Government	92 (51.69)	162 (91.0)	86 (48.31)	16 (9.0)	178 (59.33)
Ashram School	43 (59.72)	71 (98.6)	29 (40.28)	1 (1.4)	72 (24.00)
Running of Christian Missionaries	18 (36.0)	45 (90.0)	32 (64.0)	5 (10.0)	50 (16.67)
Total	153 (51.0)	278 (92.7)	147 (49.0)	22 (7.3)	

Sometimes in a tribal family all the children are not allowed to attend the school. If all the brothers and sisters are enroled in a school, nobody in the family is left behind to share in the family work. The practice with the tribals is that when the elder brother gets some education he seeks dropout and the younger one is sent to school. Such a kind of social background in the family does not provide any motivation to all the

brothers and sisters of the family. It is found in the field that in a family where elder brother is attending school 45.7 per cent of younger brother is also attending schools. Only in 8 per cent families the younger brother is not allowed to seek enrolment if the elder one is a student. Our data faslify the common understanding about the tribals that out of all the children of the family,only one is allowed to attend. Data in this respect are given below:

Table 3.11

Tribe-Wise Younger Brothers Enrolment in Schools as part of Educational Background

(Percentage of Total)

Tribe	Not getting any type of education	Going to School	Going to non-formal centre	Total
Bhil	8 (8.2)	50 (51.5)	39 (40.2)	97 (32.3)
Mina	13 (9.1)	58 (40.9)	72 (50.3)	143 (47.7)
Damor	2 (9.1)	9 (40.9)	11 (50.0)	22 (7.3)
Garasia	1 (2.6)	20 (52.6)	17 (44.7)	38 (12.7)
Total	24 (8.0)	137 (45.7)	139 (46.3)	300 (100.0)

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF SAMPLE STUDENTS

One very important aspect of tribal social background is its occupational heritage. We assume that the boys who come to school come with some occupational bias which is a tradition of his family. The caste students in this respect have the background of the traditional occupations of their respective castes. But a tribe does not have any of the occupations as his own like the caste groups. In such a situation we tried to find out the occupational background of our student sample.

Out of 300 students more than half (59%) of them are familiar with most of the agricultural operation. They can do all the higher tasks in the farm such as weeding, sowing, levelling and keeping vigil. They are also adept in doing domestic work aligned to agricultural activities. They are also familiar with some industrial, agricultural and domestic work (17.7%) together. In a broader plan it could be observed that the tribal students who come to upper primary level are capable of doing agricultural work along with other lighter tasks related to agriculture and animal husbandary. We give the data in table 3.12.

Table 3.12

Occupational Background of Sample Students

District	Nil	Agri-culture	Small industry of business	Agriculture and small industry or business	Agriculture and domestic work	Agriculture, small industry business and domestic work	Total
Udaipur	1 (1.1)	42 (46.7)	—	3 (3.3)	20 (22.2)	24 (26.7)	90 (30.0)
Chittorgarh	1 (1.4)	54 (77.1)	1 (1.4)	10 (14.3)	-	4 (5.7)	70 (23.3)
Banswara	1 (1.4)	35 (50.0)	2 (2.9)	5 (7.1)	12 (17.1)	15 (21.4)	70 (23.3)
Dungarpur	-	46 (65.7)	-	2 (2.9)	12 (17.1)	10 (14.3)	70 (23.3)
Total	3 (1.0)	177 (59.0)	3 (1.0)	20 (6.7)	44 (14.7)	33 (17.7)	300 (100.0)

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF PARENTS, TEACHERS AND COMMUNITY LEADER

We have argued in the beginning that the respondents who have provided us data belong to certain social groups and categories. They fall within an age group, they belong to a caste or a tribe; they have some occupational and educational background and they possess some political orientation. The social background of this kind has a relationship with the responses given by them. And in order to have proper comprehension of the data given by them we provide this background.

The sample group of the teachers of the students, the guardians the social workers and the community leaders who are generally village and inter-village social and political leaders consists of 200 persons. We term this sample group henceforth as TPSL, that is. teacher, parent, social worker and leader. The 200 units in this sample are disproportionately divided. For instance out of the total TPSL sample, 95 (47.5) are teachers, 36(18.0%) parents and guardians, 47 (23.5%) social workers and 22 (11.0%) leaders.

The sample of TPSL speaks the language of the village. It is also well conversant with Hindi which

is the language of instruction. The occupational structure of the TPSL is heterogeneous. Interestingly enough, more than half of the units of TPSL (61.0%) profess service as a source of their livelihood. Agriculture is followed as occupation by 28.5 per cent of the respondents in this sample. Only a few of them (8.5%) are engaged in business. The occupational differentiation in the TPSL shows that a large number of them are not proficient with agriculture, which is the dominant source of income for the tribals.

The age group composition of the TPSL sample shows that a large number of them belong to the age group which is the middle of thirties. A little more than one fourth of them (27.5%) constitute the age group below 35 years. We give below the age group discription of the TPSL.

Table 3.13
Age Group of Teachers, Parents, Social Workers and Leaders

Age group	Number	Percentage
Upto 35 years	55	27.5%
36 – 45 years	72	36.0%
46 and above years	73	36.5%
Total	200	100%

The social background of the TPSL sample again is not homogeneous. It comprises members of caste and tribal groups. Out of 200 TPSL sample 52.5 per cent belong to high caste Hindus such as Brahmins, Rajputs and Baniyas which are twice-born. The members belonging to scheduled tribe constitute 34 per cent. The inclusion of units from scheduled castes intermediate castes such as artisans, agricultural castes constitute 3 and 6.5 per cent respectively. There are, however, a few units (4%) which belong to Muslim and Christian social groups.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATION

Putting together the data on the social background of the students and TPSL sample certain major characteristics can be underlined. The student sample is drawn from the four tribal groups: Bhil, Mina, Garasia and Damor. These students represent the school classes ranging from VI to X. The school types taken for our study include government run schools, Ashram schools and schools run by Christian missionaries. In the families of the students the educational background of father is very poor. Still worse is the background of educated mother. The

total educational background of the tribal children is poor. The background of the teachers, parents, social workers and leaders is heterogeneous belonging to different occupational and ethnic groups. The student behaviour in the school and out side in terms of their involvement in the neighbouring society by attaining some education is conditioned by the social background of the units of the sample group.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Bose, P.K., Classes and Class Relations Among Tribals of Bengal, Ajanta Publications Delhi, 1985, p.12.

2. Perhaps one very strong reason for protest is that the trend of development in the country has always been uneven. Compared with rural people, urban people have got more advantages from development. In the rural side the high caste Hindus and the upper classes have obtained more in comparison with poorer sections. The relative deprivation seems to be the major cause for protest. The gaps in the ranks are wide enough. See, Shah, Ghanshyam, Protest Movement in two Indian States, Delhi 1977, p.19.

3. Census of India 1981, Series - 1, India, Primary Census Abstract Scheduled Castes, Part II B (ii) P.(ixxiii).

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CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL TYPES: THE INTEGRATION ASPECTS

One of the important tasks of nation building in our country is to hold the nation together. The Indian society is unique. It has multi-languages, multi-ethnicities, multi-castes and multi-regions. Such a pluralistic society has to be held together by secular and rational bonds. In the past we did not have anything of the nation as we understand in the western sense. Before independence there was on the one hand British Raj and on the other a number of

principalities. The country was kept together on non-secular and religious ties. The Constitution to-day provides a number of political, social and educational bonds to keep the ethnic pluralities together. The objective of building a democratic, socialistic and secular nation is very difficult. In a way we are confronted with a historical problem.

The National Integration Conference which was held during the time of Jawahar Lal Nehru for the first time at Srinagar stressed the point that in order to attain national solidarity we should start with new processes of educational and national integration. National Integration as a process should begin with the introduction of education at the school level. Students should be told in definite words that we are a secular society. The relations between the state and the individuals are the relations of citizens. Religion is an affair between God and his followers. The state, at best has respect for all religions. The student should be pursueded to follow the idioms of Constitution. Notwithstanding any caste and ethnic divisions, the Constitution is a document common for all to be practised in life.

Integration should work as a thread in all our school curriculum, and syllabi. Students coming out for the portals of upper primary and secondary schools should have imbibed in them the national idiome. There should have been national anthem, celebration of national festivals, anniversaries of our national leaders, and great men as a package programme to be run effectively all through the academic year. They should be taught to learn that the spirit of nationalism is such that it cuts across caste, tribe, village, city and ethnicity.

Do students reading at the secondary educational level imbibe such a spirit? Does a particular type of school create differential educational standard? Do students reading in schools tend to have a national behaviour? Do they participate on occasions of pleasure or agitation as citizens of the country? These are a few questions which provided us incentive to look into the field situation of our enquiry.

The sample students of our study are distributed over government schools, Ashram schools, and Mission Schools. We start with the assumption that all the school types carry the massage of national integration

to the students. We examine the student behaviour here in terms of (1) work habits; (2) their attitudes towards caste, religion, language and ethnicity; (3) students' future plans for their career; and (4) their occupational aspirations. Our discussion in this chapter would be on the behaviour of students vis-a-vis the school type in the context of the direction of their integration in the local or wider society.

SCHOOL TYPES: GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

Our government school sample consist of 16 schools. A larger number of schools (9) are located in Udaipur district. The reason for having more schools from Udaipur district is that the spread of education in this district is greater. Out of 16 schools 7 are located near the city the remaining 9 being far in the remote area. Out of the total sample schools one was started in 1908 and is located at Chittorgarh. About one-third of the schools of our sample were begun in the middle of thirties. Four schools have classes beginning from I to VIII, 1 from I to X, 1 from I to XI, 6 each from VI to VIII and VI to X. A little more than half of the schools run their classes from VI to XI.

The School sample runs courses in all the faculties, science, commerce and arts, besides compulsory subjects. At the secondary level the syllabus and the curriculum are determined by the Board of Secondary Education, Rajasthan. In this respect all the government run schools have no choice to make their own teaching programmes. This is one very integrative part of government school education. In fact, any school at the level of secondary/higher secondary run by any institution has to implement the curriculum either given by the Board of Secondary Education at the Central or the State level. Courses at this level of education are not left to the choice of the individual school. Instructions and training, books and lessons, course and reference books run through the supervision of National Institute of Educational Research and Training, Central Board of Education and State Board of Education. Such a statutory provision has made it possible by the Central and state governments to have control over education. Therefore, at the content level there is no variation in school education. It is because of this, that we expect to have a substantial dose of national integration in the formation of syllabus.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS

What makes variation in the levels of tribal education is not the curriculum but its efficacy and intensity in implementing it among the students. The social background of the students in terms of their caste, tribe and class-orientation is important in educational variation. Similar is the role of the quality teachers.

In the 16 sample schools there are 4983 students in all. It is not the sample size but the actual enrolment size of the students for the term 1986-87. If we look at the social stratification of the enrolled students, it would be found that a little more than half of the students in the 16 government schools belong to the tribal group. It is a happy feature that in the schools located in a region having higher tribal concentration (more than 50%), there is no lesser size of tribal students compared to caste Hindus. The Scheduled tribe students has a meagre strength. Little less than half of the students in these schools belong to high and intermediate caste.

When we analyse the student data pertaining to government schools, we find that the tribal and

non-tribal students have opportunities of interaction both in the school and outside in the village. There are several occasions in the schools-classroom meeting, playground, cultural activities, celebration of festivals, tournaments, etc. When the tribal and non-tribal students rub their shoulders together the government schools thus provide a secular ground for putting a diverse mass of students together. Nowhere we found any incidence of tribe-caste confrontation. The data regarding the student profile of government schools are given below:

Table 4.1

Social Profile of Government Schools in terms of Student Enrolment

District	No.of schoo-	Social-Background					Total
		High castes	Inter-mediate	Sche-duled Caste	Sche-Tribes	Other	
Udaipur	9	535 (14.22)	757 (20.12)	127 (3.37)	2036 (54.13)	306 (8.13)	3761 (75.48)
Chittorgarh	3	107 (11.76)	103 (11.32)	49 (5.34)	605 (66.48)	46 (5.05)	910 (14.26)
Banswara	2	17 (7.49)	23 (12.85)	5 (2.79)	91 (50.84)	43 (24.02)	179 (3.59)
Dungarpur	1	19 (14.28)	27 (20.30)	7 (5.26)	71 (53.38)	9 (6.77)	133 (2.67)
Total	16	678 (13.61)	910 (18.26)	188 (3.77)	2803 (56.25)	404 (8.11)	4983 (100.0

The efficacy of the content of syllabus also depends on the teachers, the numerical strength, their social background, and orientation to students. Data generated on this account show that more than half of the teachers come from high caste Hindus. If we add to it the teachers belonging to intermediate castes the percentage of non-tribal teachers increases all the more. The number of teachers belonging to tribal-groups is insignificant. What is important about this kind of data is that the teachers teaching a majority of tribal students tend to have a caste bias or a super-ordinate bias against the tribal students. The end result of this preponderance of non-tribal teachers could be cultural domination of one group over the other. But there could be some gains in the realm of national integration. Tribal students come face-to-face with the reality of regional society. When the interactions between the majority of non-tribal teachers increase with tribal students there is possibility of the latter falling in the regional mainline.

There is, however, another area of interaction between teachers and students which hampers the process of regional mainline integration. And this is the area of the residence of the teachers. But before we take it

up we give below the data regarding the social hierarchy of the teachers in government schools:

Table 4.2

Hierarchy of teachers in the Government Schools

Districts	No.of schools	Teachers' Hierarchy					
		High castes	Intermediate	Scheduled castes	Scheduled tribes	Other	Total
Udaipur	9	43 (39.45)	54 (49.54)	2 (1.83)	10 (9.17)	-	109 (55.05)
Chittorgarh	3	50 (69.44)	19 (26.38)	-	2 (2.77)	1 (1.38)	72 (36.36)
Banswara	2	7 (87.5)	1 (12.5)	-	-	-	8 (4.04)
Dungarpur	2	4 (44.44)	4 (44.44)	-	1 (11.11)	-	9 (4.54)
Total	16	104 (52.52)	78 (39.39)	2 (1.01)	13 (6.56)	1 (0.50)	198 (100.)

TEACHERS' RESIDENCE: THE PHENOMENON OF DAILY UP-DOWN

Our visits in the tribal village have revealed that during forenoon hours the bus stands at various places are very much crowded. In local buses one could find dozens of teachers mostly females travelling as standing passengers. The same scene is repeated in the

afternoon hours. A little conversation with the commuters would reveal that they are teachers and they leave their houses in the morning to attend school and return in the evening. One can understand the fatigue undergone by the teachers. The strains of travelling are massive. But why do they do it? Why do they not stay at the school headquarters? Answers to the questions indicate that there is no official or private residential accommodation for their living in the school village. Hypothetically we may argue that even if they are given living houses in the village they would not prefer to stay there. What is needed by these teachers is the atmosphere of a town or a city, in the neighbourhood of their friends, castemen and kinsmen. Living in a tribal village is relatively living in isolation.

We observed that in these schools a large majority of teachers play truant, for instance in a four or five teacher school one or two would alternatively attend the school and the others would be present by proxy. Sometimes illicit absence of teachers in a school is prolonged and the teacher is available only when he comes to collect his pay packet. The inspecting staff

of the district education officer is either willing to become a party to such a truancy or he prefers not to go for raid. Perhaps they themselves occasionally take unofficial benefits. Before we analyse the social impact of absence of the teacher from the school headquarters we give below the data generated by us from the districts and school type of our study.

Table 4.3(a)

Teachers' Pattern of Residence in the Sample Districts

Districts	Total Number of teachers	Number of teachers doing up and down daily	Percentage
Udaipur	119	97	81.51
Chittorgarh	49	37	75.51
Banswara	43	17	39.53
Dungarpur	13	9	69.23
Total	224	160	71.42

Table 4.3(b)

Teachers' Pattern of Residence in the Sample School Types

School Type	Total number of teachers	Number of teachers doing up down daily	Percentage
Government School	198	159	80.30
Ashram School	12	-	-
Schools run by Christian Missionaries	14	-	7.14
Total	224	160	71.42

It is found that the frequency of teachers doing up down is very high. In the districts of Udaipur and Chittorgarh an overwhelming number of teachers do not stay or reside at the school headquarters. This is the situation with the government upper primary and secondary schools. In the case of other two types of schools namely, Ashram and Christian missionaries the frequency of up-down is reduced to the minimum. In Ashram and mission schools either the authorities do not provide daily commuting

or the teachers are obliged to stay at the school headquarters. The government schools are, therefore, characterised by having a staff which is very mobile. Another problem which is caused by daily commuting is that more than often the teachers become late in the school. So do the students. The teachers in such schools are already fatigued and remain always keen to tune themselves to the Bus timings in the afternoon. The loss suffered by the students is great. They miss all opportunities in their village to have informal contacts with the teacher and his family. Only classroom contacts are not sufficient. At best they fulfil pedagogical interests. But the wider interests of the village community in terms of integration with the teacher and his family, that is the regional society are lost. The purpose of fulfilling the comprehensive interests of learning through school and school faculty is lost sight of. The practice of daily commuting adopted by the teachers, therefore, causes great loss to the students and the wider school community.

ASHRAM SCHOOLS: STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

In the present enquiry we have taken a sample of 6 upper-primary schools known as Ashram schools belonging to the 4 districts of TSP area. These schools

are reported to have started in the state in 1978.[1] To opening of Ashram schools in the state is a part of the experiment made in basic education all over the country. The origin of Ashram school goes back to 1922 when some Gandhian workers who had settled in Bardoli Taluka of Surat, then Bombay Presidency, started Ashrams. In 1924 some social workers established an Ashram school at Sarbhon village and started teaching the Dublas now called Halpaties. This was the first, and shortlived Ashram school of Gujarat. Vedachhi Ashram the Pivot of all constructive activities among tribals was established in 1928. The Ashram school of Vedachhi was named as 'Ashram Udyog Shala'. These Ashrams were also centres of the freedom movement. Between 1922 and 1936 the main role of such Ashram schools was not that of imparting literacy. This was considered to be a secondary role. The main role was to prepare freedom fighters and social workers. These Ashrams participated in 'No Tax Campaign', 'Dandi-March' and 'Salt-Satyagraha' when they were not engaged in programmes of freedom movement, they carried out social work and relief activities. Ashram properties were confiscated and the Ashram workers-cum-teachers were arrested.

In Gujarat the boarding schools, established after 1937 were based on the Ashram school pattern. The teachers selected for such boarding schools had faith in constructive activities, including education and freedom movement. The heritage of Ashram schools thus is from great national ideology of freedom and Swadeshi Movement.[2]

After independence in 1953 the government of Bombay resolved to give 100 per cent non-recurring grant (for land, building, animals, impliments for agriculture and spinning etc.) and 90 per cent recurring grant (for salaries of the teaching and non-teaching staff, lodging and board expenses of the students etc.) to the Ashram run by voluntary organizations. In Bombay state a few Ashram schools were started at beginning in 1952-53 for scheduled tribes.

The history of the opening of Ashram schools in the southern districts of the state is very recent. The historical explanation which could be advanced is that this late beginning of Ashram schools in the regions of Mewar and Vagar have very poor experience in the field of tribal education.

The movement for freedom in these regions started with the establishment of Prajamandal. It was a counterpart of All India Congress Committee. Its full concentration was on mobilising the masses to throw away the regime of native rulers. As the Gandhian movement for freedom was supported by constructive and reformative programmes, the freedom movement in southern Rajasthan had only limited works of the spread of literacy including literacy among women. Some programmes for the eradication of untouchability were also launched. In the erstwhile region of Mewar surely no programme for tribal education was started by any voluntary agency. Neither were there any schools run for tribals in the former Banswara state, except the Partapur Sevak-Sangh, a voluntary organization stationed at Partapur village had some schools for tribals. In the former state of Dungarpur, however, Bhogilal Pandya ran a network of tribal schools through Gandhi Ashram, a voluntary agency. It was only Gandhi Ashram which did some tremendous work in the field of tribal education. He also did not start any Ashram school on Gandhian pattern. It must be emphasized here that, historically speaking the whole tribal sub-plan region has not had in depth experience in Ashram schools or education among tribals.

With this poor background of tribal education the first Ashram school was started in Dungarpur in Rincha village in 1978. Jhadol of Udaipur district also had its Ashram school in the same year. The year 1981 witnessed the establishment of the few more Ashram schools in the TSP area. Experiment in Ashram school has been made at the instance of the commissioner for scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the TSP area today there are 23 Ashram schools run by the government. Out of the total Ashram schools 19 are for boys and 4 for girls.

The Ashram school is run by the government on a set pattern. Its strength of students in the state is fixed at 50 or 100. The school provides education for standard VI to VIII. In fact it is a kind of hostel which provides facilities of lodging and board to the inmates. The tribal students in their house do not get proper guidance at family level in preparing their courses. Such a situation comes in their way in the schools to come at par with the non-tribal students. The guiding spirit for starting the Ashram school is to help the tribal students to get over this difficulty. It is hoped that if Ashram schools work effectively tribal talents would have an opportunity to compete in

the wider society. With this objective in view there is coach who provides coaching to the students. The Incharge of the Ashram, who is a senior person, looks at the managerical aspects of the whole affair. The student goes to school for his formal education during the day time. The goal of the working of Ashram school is (1) to provide all facilities to the tribal students to prepare for his school education; and (2) to attain standards which are appreciably high.

The Ashram schools provide some basic facilities to their inmates. These facilities include meals, uniform, toiletary, shoes and other garments. As it goes in all government hostels and even in Jails the daily quantity of food items in terms of wheat, vegetables edible oil, rice is prescribed by the government. As a matter of fact all this expenditure has to be covered in the budget sanctioned amount of Rs.150 per student per month for ten months in a year. Besides this Rs.55/- per head are given to meet expenses on books, stationery and school fees.

STUDENTS AND TEACHERS IN ASHRAM SCHOOL

There are 528 students in the Ashram schools of our sample. There is no situation of interaction between

the tribal and non-tribal students in an Ashram school. This is explained by the fact that an Ashram school is meant only for tribal students. Actually it is a boarding house for tribal boys only. The school is a home for the boys. In the Ashram schools of Banswara, Udaipur and Dungarpur, the prescribed strength of students is 100 in each. In Chittorgarh the student size is 50.

Admittedly, the Ashram school is a suitable place where the tribal students get an atmosphere for preparing their school homework. There is always a coach behind them. However, one very striking weakness of Ashram school is that it denies the tribal students all opportunities to come in contact with the non-tribal boys except during the school time. In fact this kind of schools has become an instrumentality to isolate the tribal students from the non-tribal students. Our fear is that if all through the adolescent period the tribal boys are brought up in isolation their integration in the regional mainline would become difficult.

We had opportunities during the field-work visits to stay with Ashram school students. Our long

interviews with them accompanied by closer observation show that the absence of outside interaction creates group stereotypes and also group solidarity among them. Although living in Ashram school, they continue to follow the attributes which have characterised them backward, unhygienic and highly segmentary. In no way Ashram schools contribute towards feelings of integration in the wider society. They have in reality become the centres of tribal catholicism.

In the case of the teachers in the Ashram school, the situation gets a little changed. The incharge and the coach are the two statuses in an Ashram school. In a staff of 12 persons in our Ashram sample 10 belong to high castes Hindus, one is to tribal and Muslim groups. Such a structure of staff brings out two important things for discussion. One could say that in a tribal school the number of tribal teachers is meagre. It could also be argued that tribal students should have tribal teachers because the latter understand the problems of the former better. This is a kind of argument we contest seriously. It is not necessary that one has to be a tribal to understand the tribal problem better. A non-tribal teacher can also analyse tribal

problems with greater vigour provided he is serious about his role performance. On the other hand there is a possibility of the tribal teacher becoming a keen competitor not allowing among the students the development of a critical spirit. When the oppressed once becomes super-ordinate he assumes the role of suppression.[3]

One very happy situation about the composition of Ashram school staff is that it provides an opportunity for face-to-face meeting of the tribals and the non-tribals. If the tribal boys do not get a chance to meet with non-tribal boys face-to-face, they at least have opportunity of interaction with their incharge and coach who happen to be non-tribal. Data in this respect are given in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Social Background of Incharge and Coach in Ashram Schools

Districts	Number of sample Ashram Schools	High caste	Intermediate	Tribal	Other	Total
Udaipur	1	2	-	-	-	2
Chittorgarh	2	3	-	-	1	4
Banswara	2	3	-	1	-	4
Dungarpur	1	2	-	-	-	2(1+)
Total	6	10 (83.4%)	-	1 (8.3%)	1 (8.3%)	12 (100.0)

Besides teachers in the Ashram schools there are a few menials and workers also. This group consists of Secretarial Assistant, Cook, Watchman and a Sweeper. In the sample of Ashram schools the number of workers include 34. More than half of the workers (61.7%) belong to high caste Hindus. About 29 per cent come from intermediate caste. The percentage of tribals among the workers is nominal only (8.8%). Table 4.5 gives data in this respect.

Table 4.5

Social Profile of Workers(other than Incharge and Coach) in Ashram Schools

Districts	Number of School	Social Background				
		Total workers	High caste	Inter-mediate	Tribal	Other
Udaipur	1	6	4	1	1	-
Chittorgarh	2	10	5	4	1	-
Banswara	2	12	8	3	1	-
Dungarpur	1	6	4	2	-	-
Total	6	34	21 (61.77)	10 (29.4)	3 (8.82)	-

From the perspective of integration, the structural composition of Ashram school in terms of workers other than incharge and coach provide opportunities for intimate and face-to-face relationship with the tribal students. This ensures the involvement of non-tribals in various activities of tribals in the school. It has substantial integrative potential.

While concluding discussion on Ashram school, it must be observed that the schools in their substantial functioning are tribal boarding houses catering to most of the needs of the students. The schools provide facilities for preparing lessons and coming over the individual deficiencies of the students. But from integration point of view the schools promote and strengthen tribal isolation by forbiding the close meeting of tribal and non-tribal students. However the composition of staff and workers is such that there are opportunities of developing interaction between the two groups.

MISSION SCHOOLS: STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

In the southern region of the state of Rajasthan, Christian missionaries have worked intensively in the villages of the districts of Banswara and Dungarpur.

The entry of Christian missions in Kherwara tehsil of Udaipur district goes back to the establishment of Mewar Bhil Corps in 1832 at Kherwara. The Corps was created to put down a movement for an autonomous statehood among the Bhils.[4] The Christian missions have extensively worked in the southern villages of Banswara district. The missionaries in Banswara have panetrated in the interior parts. They usually go with a package of development programme consisting of health and medical services, education and social reform. In Kushalgarh tehsil a mission hospital has been established of Ambapada, 9 Kms. away from the town of Kushalgarh. On the road track joining Kushalgarh to Banswara city there are about 23 villages where there is influence of missionaries.

The entry of Christian missionaries in the tribal villages goes back to the occurrence of the great famine (1899 - 1900) called Chhapaniya Kal. The British missionaries started relief camps during the famine year. They worked hard in this human disaster. When the famine was over they continued to work in tribal villages.

The despatches of Mewar Residency[5] show that in the compilation of educational data in 1905 there were 10 'private' schools, 3 run by Christian Missionaries Society and 7 by United Free Church Mission. In the year 1905 there was no Mission School in Dungarpur and Banswara erstwhile state.

A.W.T. Webb took a round of the states of Rajputana and Ajmer Merwara during the census operations of 1941. He gives population of tribals in various census and says that in the year 1911 the Christian population of Banswara district comprised the following:

Indian Christian (including Tribes)	...	8200
Anglo-Indians	...	2000
Others	...	1500
Christian members of Tribes	...	1400

Web informs that in Banswara the Christian community was sub- divided into Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and others. The Bhils and other members of the primitive tribes who had accepted the Christian faith were for census purposes shown as tribes. In the erstwhile state of Banswara, tribal Christians were found in Banswara and Kushalgarh tehsils. Canadian Mission at Banswara and Catholic Mission at Kushalgarh has been active through out in the southern villages.

The Missionary societies in Banswara took to tribal education some time in 1914 when Mrs. Hamilton Fund[6] of Rs.1090 was created. The objective of the Fund was to grant scholarship to the poor and needy villagers.

The history of the establishment of Canadian Mission at Banswara goes back to January 1914. A team of 8 Missionaries reached Banswara on bullock carts.[7] They sought permission from the ruler of the state to start welfare work in the state. The Mission society established its building towards the eastern side of the city. They started some schools in the villages also. The objective of the schools was the spread of education among the Bhils. The Mission schools provided books, slates, writing material along with lodging and Board facilities. They also gave some programmes in the field of health, hygiene and medical care. Establishment of hostels for boys and girls was also made. Some training was also imparted in nursing, agriculture and craft.

In the year 1919 Masihi Prathmic Shala was also started in the campus of Mission hospital Banswara. The school provided free education to all the tribal students. The school had a strength of 9 boys in 1940-41

which rose to 35 in 1953-54. At present the school has been raised to middle standard. The Protestant Mission working at Banswara city has 12 schools in other parts of the district, namely, Kushalgarh and Bagidora. The Mission has also opened two hostels one each for boys and girls in 1924.

The Protestant Missionaries thus were the first to enter the erstwhile state of Banswara. The Roman Catholic Mission were late to enter the district. As mentioned already their area of operation has been Kushalgarh, now a tehsil of Banswara district. In tribal Banswara the history of Roman Catholic Mission goes back to early decades of the twentieth century (about 1921) when father Danial came to Kushalgarh with Churchmen from Thandla Mission, Madhya Pradesh.[8] Here, father Danial was accompanied by three men and two women. Phatho Meena was one of them. These missionaries had come here to spread Roman Catholic faith among the tribals of this area. Father Danial settled in Kherdpur, a village nearby, 5 Kms away from Kushalgarh. In the beginning, they felt more difficulties in getting the support of tribals. Not only this, non-tribal population also objected to it. Therefore, missionaries lost heart and returned with empty hands. This mission

was, therefore, the first mission to come to Kushalgarh for this purpose. With the efforts of the Roman Catholic Mission some schools were opened for the tribals in Ambapada, Sajjangarh, Mokhampura, Maskamahuri and Bhandaria.

The historical background of the mission schools in Banswara shows that the foreign mission societies came to this part of the state with a mission of reforming the native people, the aboriginals. These aboriginals, then were concentrated in pockets encapsulated by forests and hills. Access to these parts was almost impossible. It must go to the credit of the Christian missions who dared to penetrate in the interior parts and reform the people through education. In Banswara district today there are two Christian missions; Canadian protestant Mission and the Roman Catholic Mission. These two Missions are running schools to the standard of X. Some schools have hostels attached to them. We have for our purpose taken two mission schools one each located at Banswara City and Kushalgarh town.

The sample Mission schools impart education up to X standard. The total strength of students comes to 453. The schools have students belonging to non-tribal

groups also. Among the students belonging to non-tribal groups are those who come from high and intermediate castes. The teachers, who number 13 in both the schools, are Bhil Christians.

The impact of Christian Mission schools on the tribal life has been great. These schools have positively contributed towards the disintegration of the tribal premordial society. The tribals who convert themselves to Christianity naturally take departure or division from their native society. They become members of a new society which is Christian Bhil society. The Christian Bhils do not seek their incorporation in the caste society as the latter would never accept them. The only alternative left for the Christian Bhils is to integrate themselves in the wider class society of the region. Their value systems, therefore, belong to socialism, secularism and democracy. The role of Mission Schools among the tribals, therefore, helps enough to move towards a national system rather than sectorial caste system. It is this integrative role of mission school that needs to be stressed in the light of the data that we have generated from the field.

TRIBAL STUDENTS: COURSE CONTENT AND SCHOOL SYSTEM

There are contradictory views about the role of education in society. It is said that the tribals who get some moderate education alienate themselves from the mainline of tribal society. Such a trend is disintegrative for his own tribal society but integrative for the wider society. Education is thus an instrument of social change. M.S.Gurye and others observe in this respect:

> "The educational system of a country is often expected to perform two simultaneous and somewhat contradictory social functions— that of ensuring continuity of tradition and of initiating change. This is the case with the system of education in India today."[9]

When we accept that education is a vehicle of social change it means that much of its success depends upon whether the students follows the lessons in class and whether he feels free to ask the help of his teachers when needed. We have tried to find out the work habits of the students. In the classroom the students are taught lessons which are part of the curricula prescribed by the Education Board. Our question to the students was: which subjects do you understand easily in the class-room? We have codified the answers.

A large number of students (37.3%) find Hindi to be their favourite subject. This is due to the fact that with the break of isolation and the consequent mass entry of non-tribals, the tribal new generation is increasingly adopting Hindi as a medium of conversation. The popularity of Hindi also indicates that the structure of syllabus in this respect contains elements of integration. The fondness for Hindi as a subject in the school is perhaps also because of the fact that its learning helps the tribals to come closer to the markets in doing their sale and purchase. They understand the functional utility of Hindi in their day to day life.

The students also express their liking for geography as a subject. Living in forest and hills, the tribal boys are close to nature. Their daily activities revolve round environment. They well understand the change in weather, the formation of clouds, the onset of monsoon, the drought and the flood. Proximity to nature makes the subject of geography a favourite for them. They also find the knowledge of geography, including of vegetation, quite useful for their day-to-day life.

When we examine the data regarding favourate subject as given below in terms of individual tribes is found that all the tribal groups have shown their preference for Hindi as a subject. The same applies for geography. The data are given in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Students' Favourable Subjects in the Course Content

Tribal Group	Hindi	Geog-raphy	Hindi and Geog-raphy	Social stu-dies	Hindi social stu-dies	Geog-raphy social studies	Maths	Hindi and maths	Geog-raphy maths	Comm-erce	Total
Bhil	38 39.2	6 6.2	-	33 34.0	1 1.0	2 2.1	15 15.5	-	-	2 2.1	97 32.3
Mina	50 35.0	10 7.0	5 3.5	24 16.8	2 1.4	2 1.4	28 19.6	1 0.7	4 2.8	16 11.2	143 47.7
Damor	9 40.9	2 9.1	-	4 18.2	-	-	7 31.8	-	-	-	22 7.3
Garasia	15 39.5	5 13.2	2 5.3	8 21.1	-	-	6 15.8	-	-	2 5.3	38 12.7
Total	112 37.3	23 7.7	7 2.3	69 23.0	3 1.0	4 1.3	56 18.7	1 0.3	4 1.3	20 6.7	300 100.0

We enquired from the students about their interest, if any, in particular subjects. The data generated in this respect show that a little less than half of the students (48.3%) have interest in the subject of Hindi. It follows, however, that a little less than one-fourth of the students show interest in social studies also. The data are given in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Subjects of Students' Choice

Tribal Group		Hindi	Geog. raphy	Hindi and Geog. raphy	Soci- al stu- dies	Hindi and Social studies	Geog- raphy & social studies	Total
Bhil	-	50 51.5	9 9.3	7 7.2	29 29.9	1 1.0	1 1.0	97 32.3
Mina	2 1.4	66 46.2	18 12.6	29 20.3	27 18.9	1 0.7	-	143 47.7
Damor	-	11 50.0	5 22.7	2 9.1	4 18.2	-	-	22 7.3
Garasia	-	18 47.4	10 26.3	5 13.2	5 13.2	-	-	38 12.7
Total	2 0.7	145 48.3	42 14.0	43 14.3	65 21.7	2 0.7	1 0.3	300 100.0

In order to assess the general knowledge aptitude of students we conducted a test. Each student respondent was asked to answer 15 questions. We began by asking the questions about their knowledge regarding their own village and Gram-Panchayat to Assembly and Parliament. They were also asked to respond to questions pertaining to some big events of the district, region, state and so on. The marks obtained in the test show that a little less than half of the students (47%) secure 'B' class. Their achievement has been graded 'good'. The students who secured average grade constitute 40 per cent only. Hardly 2 per cent of the students have been rated below standard. The data clearly show that in the field of general knowledge the tribal students of all the groups have shown an appreciable standard. Table 4.8 gives data in this respect.

Table 4.8

General knowledge Test of the Students

Tribal Group	Excellent	Good	Average	Below average	Total
Bhil	2 2.1	41 42.3	53 54.6	1 1.0	97 32.3
Mina	27 18.9	63 44.1	48 33.6	5 3.5	143 47.7
Damor	-	15 68.2	6 27.3	1 4.5	22 7.3
Garasia	2 5.3	22 57.9	13 34.2	1 2.6	38 12.7
Total	31 10.3	141 47.0	120 40.0	8 2.7	300 100.0

Observation in the classroom shows that 67 per cent of the students participate in the process of classroom teaching. It was found that in a mixed class of tribal and non-tribal students about one-third of the questions were asked by the tribal students for better understanding of the lesson. The teachers also confirmed our observation in the subsequent interview. In the Ashram school,

unhesitatingly the students approach their tutor for help in preparing the lesson. The percentage of students in these schools who attend regular coaching classes is also high (78%).

Our observation in different schools shows that on an average 67.9 per cent attend their classes. However, in personal conversation it was reported that the tribal students are dull in the class. Such an impression it appears is largely due to the high caste Hindus' stereotypes about the tribal students.

A case study of talented students was undertaken. The objective of such a study was to find out the social background of the tribal talented students. Our understanding is that tribal talents could come out even from such a kind of social structure. An effort has been to correlate the achievement of the student with his social and economic attributes.

Our methodology of drawing talented students was simple. On the objective criteria of achievement in examination and other co-curricular activities we

identified 28 students as talented students, 7 as normal students and 9 of poor I.Q. These students belonged to different age groups beginning from 10 to 20. They belonged to Mina and Bhil tribal groups. Educationally they belonged to classes between VI and X. 38 of the total 44 students belonged to families having agriculture as the main occupation. Those belonging to service group constituted 13.4 per cent.

One very interesting feature of the educational background of the 44 students is that 19 of them there was no one educated in the family. There were 2 students only who had all their family members educated. In the monthly income bracket of Rs.500 and below, there were 65.9 per cent students. Most of the families of the students (59.1%) were of joint nature.

The attributes of the different types of students included in the case study show that a large number of them come from a social background where education in the family is meagre, agriculture is the major source of income and most of them belong to the lowest income category of Rs.500/- per month and below.

The students were asked to comment on the type of education which they would desire for them. Responses received on this account show that an overwhelming number of them desired courses in technical and business management. Strikingly enough agriculture was desired only by 10 per cent of them. The feeling among them is that technology and business management are important aspects of education, cognitively bring them closer to the mainline civilization. We also want to build at national level a technological and managerial society. Data are given below:

Table 4.9

Type of Education Desired by the Students

Tribal group	Not essential	Agricultural	Technical	Business	Total
Bhil	1 1.0	9 9.3	47 48.5	40 41.2	97 32.3
Mina	3 2.1	15 10.5	52 36.4	73 51.0	143 47.7
Damor	1 4.5	2 9.1	6 27.3	13 59.1	22 7.3
Garasia	-	4 10.5	17 44.7	17 44.7	38 12.7
Total	5 1.7	30 10.0	122 40.7	143 47.7	300 100.0

The students were asked to express their attitudes towards a certain level of education which could be made compulsory for tribal boys and girls. The responses reveal that for an overwhelming size of students (80.3%) primary education was an essential level to be attained by all. However, 18 per cent students prescribed secondary/higher secondary education as the desired level of standard.

Table 4.10

Standard of Education Essential for Tribal Students

Tribal group	Not essential	Primary	Secondary/ higher secondary	Total
Bhil	1 1.0	80 82.5	16 16.5	97 32.3
Mina	3 2.1	115 80.4	25 17.5	143 47.7
Damor	1 4.5	15 68.2	6 27.3	22 7.3
Garasia	-	31 81.6	7 18.4	38 12.7
Total	5 1.7	241 80.3	54 18.0	300 100.0

The students were asked to comment on some of the aspects of our present day social inequalities. Specifically, we asked them, 'Do you think there is an equal opportunity for all castes to fatch water from the sanitary well.'? The codified responses show that 87 per cent of them agree to the statement that notwithstanding any caste distinctions, every one in the village should be allowed to utilize the village well. This attitude obviously incorporates the tribal students in the national mainstream. They cross the caste barrier. Being a tribal group they do not align themselves with the caste groups. We give below the data in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11

Attitudes on the common Utilization of Village Well

Tribal group	Yes	No	Total
Bhil	86 88.7	11 11.3	97 32.3
Mina	123 86.0	20 14.0	143 47.7
Damor	20 90.9	2 9.1	22 7.3
Garasia	32 84.2	6 15.8	38 12.7
Total	261 87.0	39 13.0	300 100.0

On the issue of communal relations the tribal groups of our sample express that there should be no barriers on inter-dining. The caste taboos pertaining to pollution and sacred should not come in the way of communal relations. Such an attitude of tribal students immediately brings them to the mainline culture. It appears that they deny taboos on food relations. Table 4.12 gives data in this respect.

Table 4.12

Attitude towards Communal Relations Among Caste Groups

Tribal groups	No restrictions on communal relations	Restrictions on communal relations
Bhil	84.5%	55.5%
Mina	93.0%	7.0%
Damor	90.9%	9.1%
Garasia	84.2%	15.8%

In the caste system the untouchables particularly in villages are not allowed to enter the temples. How do the tribal students react to it? The students (63.7%) observe that the Hindus should allow the untouchables to enter the temple. This right is

given to them by the constitution. However, 36.3 per cent of them argue that the ban on the entry of untouchables in the temples should continue. Here is the area where the tribals keep themselves a little away from the normative structure of the national society.

In day-to-day affairs the relations between tribals and non-tribals, mostly the caste Hindus are not happy. Data generated in this respect show that a large number of students do not consider caste Hindus friendly to them. Such an expression towards caste Hindus is based on the antagonistic relations between the two groups through historical periods. During the princely rule the Rajputs, Baniyas and the Kalals exploited the tribals to the maximum. If the caste Hindus have prejudices against tribal group the latter cherish the similar prejudices. Details of data are given below:

Table 4.13

Are the Non-Tribals friendly to Tribals?

Tribal group	Yes	No	Total
Bhil	25 25.8	72 74.2	97 32.3
Mina	21 14.7	122 85.3	143 47.7
Damor	8 36.4	14 63.6	22 7.3
Garasia	5 13.2	33 86.8	38 12.7
Total	59 19.7	241 80.3	300 100.0

FUTURE PLANS OF STUDENTS

What do students plan to do after they complete their education? Generally, it was expected that at this level of school education a large proportion of students would plan to continue their studies further at the college and professional college levels. This expectation has not been validated. Almost all of our students desired to take up some employment after completion of their higher secondary education. The data show that a meagre percentage (5.7%) wants to follow the occupation of peasants as their source of

livelihood. This immediately brings them to an economy which is not agricultural. The finding shows the trend of tribal integration in the regional and national economy.

The tribal students plan to get government services in different departments, namely, education, police, and revenue. A little less than half of the students (49.3%) desire to become teachers. It is followed by entry in the police department (19.0%). The data are given in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14

Percentage of Students who wish to work after School in Different Occupations

Tribal groups	Nil	Tea-cher	Po-lice	Pat-wari	Far-mer	Govern-ment officer	Total
Bhil	-	47 48.5	22 22.7	15 15.5	3 3.1	10 10.3	97 32.3
Mina	1 0.7	76 53.1	20 14.0	21 14.7	11 7.7	14 9.8	143 47.7
Damor	-	9 40.9	6 27.3	4 18.2	1 4.5	2 9.1	22 7.3
Garasia	1 2.6	16 42.1	9 23.7	7 18.4	2 5.3	3 7.9	38 12.7
Total	2 0.7	148 49.3	57 19.0	47 15.7	17 5.7	29 9.7	300 100.0

TRIBAL STUDENTS' ACHIEVEMENTS IN DIFFERENT FIELDS

One of the approaches to the study of integration in respect of tribal education is to see as to what extent the tribal students participate in the school activities which have relevance at state and national levels. Such activities include achievement of tribal students in annual examination, selection in talent test, science talent test, All India Merit scholarship and excellence in games and sports at the state and the national levels. If a tribal student reading in an interior village makes a mark in state and national selections, he is obviously participating or competing in the state or the national level systems. His mere concern for such competitions is an emotional aspect of integration.

We have generated data on the achievement made by the students in the four districts of our study. It is found that 16 students belonging to different tribal groups have secured higher positions in the examination in classes ranging from VI to VIII for the academic session 1985-86. It is also found that out of the total tribal students who appeared in the annual examinations of the schools there pass

Percentage has varied from 57 to 97. It shows that on an average the performance of tribal students is quite satisfactory.

The state government along with the education Board makes selection for talent in science talent students at the district level. The tribal students have secured some place in this talent tests also. It is found that the tribal boys have acquired proficiency in games and sports. They have been selected right from the district level to the national level in the field of games and sports. Banswara is credited to have 2 of its students selected at the national level games.

We have tried to look into the excellence of boys in different activities of schools in respect of their belongingness to a particular tribal group. It is observed that all the students who have secured some place in the examination merit list come from Mina tribe. Similarly they also find place in the selection of talented students. The Bhils follow them. The Garasias have no marked position in the achievement chart. It clearly shows that in the merit assessment the Minas excel. The lesser developed group, more specially the Garasias, generally lag behind. We give below the compiled details of in the table 4.15.

Table 4.15

Tribal Students' Achievement in Different Fields of Educational Life

Districts	Year 1985 - 86								
	Academic Achievement		Selection for talent at district level	Selection for science talent	Selection for All India Scholarship	Games and Sports			Total
	Merit list	Total result of tribal students				At District level	State level	National level	
Udaipur	5	60 to 100%	3	-	2	10	7	-	27
Chittorgarh	4	55 to 97%	2	-	1	2	1	-	10
Banswara	4	80 to 93%	4	2	1	5	5	2	23
Dungarpur	3	29 to 89%	3	1	2	5	5	-	19
Total	16	57 to 95%	12	3	6	24	18	2	79

How do the students look at the world around them? Has it widened due to their getting education in the school? Do they have social network beyond their individual tribal group? All these questions relate to the integration of tribal students in the regional society. In this respect we give below some data generated by us.

Table 4.16

Extent of Friendship beyond the Tribal groups

Tribal groups	Tribal	Non-tribal	Tribal Non-tribal	Total
Bhil	91 93.8	-	6 6.2	97 32.3
Mina	126 88.1	2 1.4	15 10.5	143 47.7
Damor	21 95.5	-	1 4.5	22 7.3
Garasia	29 76.3	-	9 23.7	38 12.7

An analysis of data shows that the tribal students remain limited to the friendship of the members of their own tribal groups (89.0%). Obviously, their social circle remains restricted to their own groups. An insignificant (0.7%) size of them move beyond the tribal group.

The above interpretation further gets confirmed when we look at the correlation of the network of friends with the school type. In the Ashram school where the inmates are isolated from non-tribal students. The friendship of the tribal boys with the non-tribal boys rises to the extent of 95.8 per cent. More or less the same frequencies are registered for Christian Mission schools. The government schools which are liberally open for non-tribal also the frequencies are reduced to 84.3 per cent. The social circle of friendship within the tribals has some percentage of differentiation at the school type, but at the aggregate level it clearly shows that the tribal students have network of friendship only limited to themselves. Table 4.17 gives data in this respect.

Table 4.17

School type and Net Works of Friendship

School type	Tribal	Non-tribal	Tribal (+) Non-tribal	Total
Government	150 84.3	2 1.1	26 14.6	178 59.3
Ashram	69 95.8	-	3 4.2	72 24.0
Christian Missionaries	48 96.0	-	2 4.0	50 16.7
Total	267 89.0	2 0.7	31 10.3	300 100.0

In our quest for finding out the extent of possible integration among the non-tribals we put a specific question to our student informants: "would you like to have business relations with non-tribals? The responses received on this account have been computerised. It is found that 46.3 per cent of the tribal students would like to enter into business relation with the non-tribals. But a majority of them deny to have such a joint venture. The trend of integration with the non-tribal segments continues to be the same in this area also. It appears that the tribals find themselves secure in the intimacy of their own people. They find it safer to remain encapsulated to their tribal group only. What is worse, they do not like to have friendship interaction with their other tribal counterparts also. We give below data in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18

Extent of Business Relations with Non-tribal Friends

Tribal groups	Yes	No	Total
Bhil	44 45.4	53 54.6	97 32.3
Mina	61 42.7	82 57.3	143 47.7
Damor	12 54.5	10 45.5	22 7.3
Garasia	22 57.9	16 42.1	38 12.7
Total	139 46.3	161 53.7	300 100.0

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

We have been looking at tribal education with the perspective of the educational socialization of students in terms of their integration in the regional and national mainline. Different types of schools have different approaches towards educating the children. For the analysis of educational differentiation vis-a-vis the role of school type we have taken three types of schools for our study. The school types include Government school, Ashram School and Missionary school. The school type has some correlation towards a common trend of integration. For instance, the Ashram school keeps a narrower the social network of its inmates.

Students' work habits in school types show better movement towards integration in the regional society. It is found that all the areas of education do not have even influence on integration. Some of the aspects of education are conducive to integration while others discourage integration. The impact of education given by different school types creates differential integration situation. All school education does not tend to be integrative. Neither

all school education happens to be disintegrative. In some areas it is integrative, in some it is disintegrative. The impact, therefore, is differential.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Tribal Education in Rajasthan, July 7, 8, 1984, M.V.Tribal Research Institute,Udaipur.

2. Joshi,Vidyut, "A Century of Tribal Education in Gujarat", in Ghanshyam Shah et al (ed) Tribal Education in Gujarat, Ajanta Publications, Delhi, 1985, pp.37-38.

3. I was once sitting in the office of a non-tribal gazetted government official. All the time he was busy in attesting the certificates of tribal students. I commented in a lighter spirit that the officer was the only person to do this job in the city. The officer quickly retorted: "the situation is different. The tribal Gazetted officers do not attest the certificate of tribal boys and hence this crowd." It is common observation to find that the higher tribal officials avoid meeting the tribal boys lest they raise their status equal to officers.

4. The Mewar Residency , op cit, p.21.

5. Quoted by Shyamlal, Education Among Tribals, Printwell Publishers, Jaipur, 1987, p.54.

6. Shivaji, A.B. and Lucia,A., Contribution of Christian Missions to Malva (1877-1977), Indore, 1983, p.43.

7. Shyam Lal, op cit, pp.88-89.

8. Gore et al., Field Studies in the Sociology of Education, National Council of Education Research and Training, New Delhi, 1970, p.9.

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CHAPTER V

TEACHERS, PARENTS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND LEADERS: THE REGIONAL MAINSTREAM

The present education system introduced by the British was an innovation in the Indian society. It was based on the social structure, the values of the British society and the teacher of the British education system of that period. In the traditional Indian system of education teaching as a profession did not exist. The teacher's home and the school were not separate. The school was teacher centred. Teaching

was permitted only to persons of the sacerdotal caste among the Hindus and to the persons of the sacerdotal order among the Muslims. Thus "caste and religion completely dominated education and also allocated individuals to different occupations according to their ascribed positions. The teacher's own role was an ascribed role."[1]

In the educational system that we have today in our country, the teacher's role is an achieved one. The caste, religion or language of a person has no bar to his becoming a teacher. It is now open to anybody to become a teacher provided he possesses certain qualifications. Teaching today has become a profession and any one could enter it by competition. Here, we are confronted with three models of social structure, namely, the native social structure of tribals, the regional structure of multi-castes and multi-ethnicities and the model of social structure constructed by the norms and values derived from our Constitution. The problem with us is to allow freedom to the tribal to retain the attributes of his native social structure and also permit him to make his choice about the borrowing of attributes from multi-caste, multi-ethnic, regional structure. And in doing all this it is obligatory for

him to adopt to the national model which consists of democracy, socialism, secularism and scientific ethics. In this whole process of transformation two of the models are substantial, existential to the grass-root level. These two models are the native tribal social structure and the regional social structure. In the school system the teacher is the mediatory through whom there is a movement from one social structure to other. In this context it is interesting to raise the questions: What, in the process of social change happens to the tribal native social structure and its old value system? Would caste, tribe and religion continue to determine who shall be the teachers? What are the role expectations? How would the role be perceived by the teacher? These are some of the questions which are central to the relationship of school system with the regional society.

In the present chapter we discuss tribal education in the light of data generated in the field through the variables of teachers, parents, social workers and leaders termed TPSL by us elsewhere. What we exactly plan to do is to give the perception of tribal students by the status structures of regional society. Surely, the teacher has the image of students

with whom he interacts day and day out. His assessment about students in terms of acceptance, rejection, modification of a particular model of social structure is important. Next to him are the parents. Beyond school hours the students live in the company of their mother and father. And, therefore, the views of parents about education in respect of integration is equally crucial.

The leaders and social workers belonging to the surrounding society of the tribals say that the tribal society or non-tribal society also has an assessment of the direction of change among the tribals. We have thus adopted a four dimensional approach towards assessment of the integrative—disintegrative effect of the education given to the tribal boys. The dimensions are based on the observational statement made by teachers, parents, social workers and community leaders. The focus of enquiry, therefore, is to analyse the impact of tribal education on the behaviour of the students within the schools and beyond it.

HOW DO TPSL INTERPRET THE BEHAVIOUR OF TRIBAL STUDENTS IN THE SCHOOL?

How can tribal students be motivated to accept school education when education has been accepted as an instrument of social change? Responses got on this account show that for 38.5 per cent of TPSL Ashram school could prove to be a better incentive for enrolling larger number of students. The leaders and the parents have higher scores in this respect, 68.2 per cent and 41.7 respectively. Yet another incentive could be to organise educational camps, tours, etc. to attract tribal students. The tribe as a whole has a fondness for undergoing excursions and taking adventures. Percentage scores in this respect are 46.0. The parents and the teachers stress this point greater, 52.8 per cent and 49.5. Interestingly enough all the constituent of TPSL think that financial assistance does not work as a motivational force. Percentage scores in this respect are meagre (15.5%). Data in this respect are given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Possible Motivating Incentives for Enrolment of Tribal Students

TPSL	Starting Ashram Schools	Organisational education camps	Giving economic Assistance	Total
Teacher	31 32.6	47 49.5	17 17.9	95 47.5
Parent	15 41.7	19 52.8	2 5.6	36 18.0
Social worker	16 34.0	22 46.8	9 19.1	47 23.5
Leader	15 68.2	4 18.2	3 13.6	22 11.0
Total	77 (38.5)	92 (46.0)	31 (15.5)	200 (100.0)

The performance of students is much related to the guidance which they may receive in the family. The Ashram school has the speciality of providing a coach for this purpose. Those who study in other types of school, guidance for courses becomes a problem. Field data show that according to 81 per cent of TPSL no guidance is provided to students in the family. However, to the rest of the students who get guidance in the family there are a few members who do it. Among those who guide the students in the family are parents and siblings. Data on this account are given in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2

Who Provides Coaching to Tribal Students in the Family?

Caste groups	Whether guidance available		Who Provides Guidance?						Total
	Yes	No	No guidance	Parents	Brother/ sister	Parents, brother, sister	Other	Parents, Brother sister & other	
High Caste	24 22.9	81 77.1	81 77.1	-	7 6.7	6 5.7	9 8.6	2 1.9	105 52.5
Middle caste	4 30.8	9 69.2	9 69.2	1 7.7	1 7.7	1 7.7	1 7.7	-	13 6.5
Scheduled castes	3 50.0	3 50.0	3 50.0	-	3 50.0	-	-	-	6 3.0
Scheduled tribes	7 10.3	61 89.7	61 89.7	-	-	2 2.9	4 5.9	1 1.5	68 34.0
Others	-	8 100.0	8 100.0	-	-	-	-	-	8 4.0
Total	38 19.0	162 81.0	162 81.0	1 0.5	11 5.5	9 4.5	14 7.0	3 1.5	200 100.0

The real problem of the tribal students is that if they do not get proper guidance in preparing lessons in the family, the consequences are bad for their integration. If their performance in the classroom vis-a-vis non-tribal students, most of their battle for integration in the classroom is lost. This is an area where urgent help is needed.

Much has been said about the high rate of dropout among tribal students. A variety of reasons are advanced to explain dropout behaviour. We have categorised the reasons mainly under two classes one class of reasons is that the family, kin, clan and village atmosphere is not conducive for a tribal boy to continue his education. In exclusively tribal villages which outnumber the tribe-caste mixed villages, "the schools" consist only of tribal students. Such a situation of the village does not provide any desire in the student to compete. In fact, such a school is highly isolated. The situation for withdrawal from school is quite favourable. The second reason for dropout is the economic backwardness. I asked one of the parents: "Why do you not send your sons and daughters to school"? The parent immediately retorted: "Education involves money in the sense that we are

deprived of the services which our ward does in the field. And even if we suffer it we have no networks to get him employed after his completion of school education. Employment today is for those who have resource networks and money. I do not have either."

The data show that more than half of the dropout (51.5%) are due to lack of economic resources. For some students as the TPSL informs there is no proper healthy atmosphere in the village to inspire students to continue there studies. The data are given below:

Table 5.3

Reasons for Dropout

TPSL	No reason	No atmosphere of education at home	Economic backwardness	Other reason	Total
Teacher	7 7.4	18 18.9	52 54.7	18 18.9	95 47.5
Parent	-	4 11.1	16 44.4	16 44.4	36 18.0
Social worker	-	11 23.4	24 51.1	12 25.5	47 23.5
Leader	-	8 36.4	11 50.0	3 13.6	22 11.0
Total	7 3.5	41 20.5	103 51.5	49 24.5	200 100.0

We enquired from the constituents of TPSL about the performance of tribal students in the classroom. It is observed by teachers, parents and social workers that the students 'sometimes' ask questions of teachers in the class. The codified data are given below:

Table 5.4

Do Tribal Students Ask questions to Their Teachers in the Classroom

TPSL	Never	Always	Sometimes	Total
Teacher	33 34.7	9 9.5	53 55.8	95 47.5
Parent	14 38.9	3 8.3	19 52.8	36 18.0
Social	13 27.7	7 14.9	27 57.4	47 23.5
Leader	13 59.1	4 18.2	5 22.7	22 11.0
Total	73 36.5	23 11.5	104 52.0	200 100.0

It is interesting to know about the grasp and comprehension of subject matter by the students. Generally, it is said that the tribal students are not sharp and brillient in grasping the subject matter. It

is held in common by the regional society that the tribal boys are more than often called dullard. Such an image of tribal students has proved to be false. The leaders and the parents have high percentage scores (72.7), and (66.7) in this respect. We give below the data in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5

Comprehension and Grasp of Subject Matter by Tribal Students

TPSL	Poor	Very good	Good	Average	Total
Teacher	1 1.1	10 10.5	35 36.8	49 51.6	95 47.5
Parent	-	2 5.6	10 27.8	24 66.7	36 18.0
Social worker	-	8 17.0	20 42.6	19 40.4	47 23.5
Leader	-	2 9.1	4 18.2	16 72.7	22 11.0
Total	1 0.5	22 11.0	69 34.5	108 54.0	200 100.0

We raised the question: "Can tribal teachers be more helpful to tribal students compared to non-tribal teachers?" Responses given in this respect need to be

analysed in a wider perspective. One view is that the non-tribals cannot be instrumental for the development of tribals. They will always like to grind their axe before they do anything for the welfare of the tribals. Being outsiders their interest in the tribals is always likely to be partial. The Polar view is that the development of tribals is only possible through the tribals. They know better the problems of the tribals. They are part of the tribal system. This view is contested by the observation that when the tribals rise in the status, they never look back to the plight of their counterparts. Both the views have their respective merit. The data generated in this respect show that 37.0 per cent of the TPSL think that non-tribal teachers can help the tribal students to progress. On the other hand 42.5 per cent of TPSL argue that tribal teachers can be more helpful to the students compared to non-tribals. Interestingly enough 19.5 per cent of the TPSL comment that a teacher is a teacher and it does not matter whether he is a tribal or a non-tribal. This group of TPSL, therefore, suggests that the values of a teacher are achieved and are based on secular values. Data generated in this respect are given in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6

Who can better Deliver the Goods. Tribal Teacners or Non-tribal Teachers?

TPSL	Do not agree	Non-tribal teacher is more helpful	Tribal teacher can be more helpful	Any teacher can be helpful	Total
Teacher	2 2.1	43 45.3	34 35.8	16 16.8	95 47.5
Parent	-	15 41.7	16 44.4	5 13.9	36 18.0
Social worker	-	9 19.1	26 55.3	12 25.5	47 23.5
Leader	-	7 31.8	9 40.9	6 27.3	22 11.0
Total	2 1.0	74 37.0	85 42.5	39 19.5	200 100.0

The schools are part of the wider educational activities of the state. Not only that, some of the programmes of central universities are also implemented at the school level. In this respect a school is an important vehicle for implementation of some of the programmes of national integration, for instance the celebration of independence day on 15th August and the celebration of Republic day on 26th January in the

interior parts of tribal villages draws the students immediately into national mainstream. These celebrations link them not only to the national capital as a whole, but to the history also. The celebration of such events brings the tribal students closer to our wider national concerns.

On the other hand there are a few programmes observed by a school which have local and parochial importance. These activities link the school, that is, the students with the local and regional mainline. Participation in the tournaments of upper primary students in a district is a great occasion when tribal students meet tribal and non-tribal students alongwith the teachers of the district. The tournaments provide massive opportunities for interaction. The occasions are marked by conflicts also. Competition is at its climax. Participation in games and cultural activities draws students together to bring credit to their respective schools. When tribal students take part in such school activities they are taking part in the mainstream of the region or the nation. On such occasions ethnic identities are shed off to achieve the goals of the school. We have tried to find out as to what extent the tribals participate in different activities of

schools. Our hypothesis is that greater the student participation in school activities closer are they to mainline integration.

The cultural and other curricular activities which are run by our sample schools include games and sports, debate competitions, eloquence, dance and drama and above all organization of tournaments and celebration of national days, festivals and birth anniversaries. Some of the activities are observed on an uniform basis. However, there are a few activities which are observed by big schools.

The data generated that the games and cultural activities are the most favourate activities for the tribal schools. All the constitutents of TSI categories show that tribal students participate in these activities in a bigger way. Percentage course on this account come to 75.5. The social workers and the leaders have the highest scores, 83.0 and 81.8 per cent respectively on this account. It is found that the tribal students seek their greater involvement in activities which are of physical character, which require labour and body strain. Things of artistic nature, such as acting in a drama, reciting a poem do not attract them much. But

games and sports such as Kabbadi which require much of mussels power, disc-throwing, archiary draw their involvement. The data are given in the following table:

Table 5.7

Involvement of Tribal Students in Games and Sports and Cultural Activities

TPSL	Games	Cultural	Games & cultural	Cultural & literary	Games cul. & Literary	Games cul. & Sci-activities	Games cul. Literary & Sci.activities	Total
Teacher	15 15.8	2 2.1	67 70.5	-	6 6.3	4 4.2	1 1.1	95 47.5
Parent	7 19.4	1 2.8	27 75.0	1 2.8	-	-	-	36 18.0
Social Worker	3 6.4	-	39 83.0	-	5 10.6	-	-	47 23.5
Leader	1 4.5	-	18 81.8	-	1 4.5	2 9.1	-	22 11.0
Total	26 13.0	3 1.5	151 75.5	1 0.5	12 6.0	6 3.0	1 0.5	200 100

VIEWS ABOUT RESERVATION

The issue of reservation of seats for tribals in the Lok Sabha, Legislative Assemblies of the state, in central and state services assumes vital importance today, for there have been movements and counter-movements on

this account in Gujarat and Bihar. The bone of contention has been the definite percentage to be determined for the tribals in services and educational institutions. The non-tribals usually argue that the reservations were initially made for ten years. Now since about four decades have passed there should be de-reservation. Enough is enough. The politicians have developed vested interest in reservation. The issue of reservation, therefore, needs some comments from teachers, social workers and political leaders.

Data collected on this account show that 32 per cent of TPSL argue that reservation given to the tribals should be withdrawn. And further those who belong to scheduled tribes themselves stress this point with higher scores of percentages (52.9). Scores in this respect of intermediate castes (46.2) are also significant.

A little less than half of the TPSL are against the continuance of reservation. Their suggestion is that there should be some modiciation in the reservation laws. For instance, it is suggested that among the tribal groups some priorities should be established in terms of the degree of backwardness found in respectable tribal group. It is argued that among the major tribal

groups of the state the Minas have taken the larger share of cake of the tribal privileges. The Saharias and Garasias have benefited the least. And, therefore, those who have got the least in the benefits or those who are the poorest tribal groups should get the first priority. If it is within political expediency the Minas should be descheduled. A meagre percentage of TSL (19.5) express the views that the reservation should be immediately withdrawl. The data are given below:

Table 5.8

Views of Teachers, Parents, Social Workers and Leaders on the Issue of Reservation of Seats for Tribals

Caste groups	Reservation should continue as it is	There should be reservation in it with some changes.	It should be withdrawn	Total
High Caste	20 19.0	63 60.0	22 21.0	105 52.5
Middle caste	6 46.2	3 23.1	4 30.8	13 6.5
Scheduled castes	-	4 66.7	2 33.3	6 3.0
Scheduled tribes	36 52.9	26 38.2	6 8.8	68 34.0
Others	2 25.0	1 12.5	5 62.5	8 4.0
Total	64 32.0	97 48.5	39 19.5	200 100.0

NON-TRIBALS' IMAGE OF TRIBAL STUDENTS

After dividing our TPSL sample into caste and other groups we have generated data about the image of tribal students as is held by non-tribals. Some of the characteristics of tribal students are such which distinguish them from non-tribal students. These characteristics are according to their native tribal social structure. Some of the characteristics are so much important that they are glorified by the tribal society. In the case of drinking liquor it is found that for the tribals it is a tradition to drink. Normally drinking with them is associated with several rituals of life beginning right from birth to death. On some occasions if liquor is not accepted it is a deviance from the general practice. Among them, therefore, drinking liquor is something which is a general idiom of tribal life. In common parlance it is said that one who does not drink is important. Even girls would not deny to accept liquor. It is due to this background of liquor that occasionally the tribal boys miss no opportunity to consume a little liquor in the hostels.

Smoking Bidi is alleged to be another bad habit of tribal students. They learn smoking when they go to pastures and forests to graze their cattle. In the school and hostel campus they are found occasionally indulging in smoking. The twin habit of drinking liquor and smoking Bidi is considered un-Hindu-like in schools and hostels. We asked our constituent units of TPSL about the habits of tribal boys which they dislike most. The data generated in this respect show that 7 per cent of TPSL have dislike for tribal boys' habit of smoking and drinking liquor. The habit of tribal carelessness or in better words their habit of taking things easy is disliked by one-fourth (26.5) informants. It is also said that the tribal boys do not want to do manual labour, their personal hygiene is not clean and temperamentally they are cruel. Table 5.9 gives data in this respect.

Table 5.9

Tribal Habits Considered to be Bad by Non-tribals

Caste groups	Nil	Smoking and drinking	Care-lessness	With-drawal from manual work	Unclean personal hygiene	Cruelty
High caste	6 5.7	9 8.6	28 20.7	1 1.0	11 10.5	1 1.0
Middle caste	-	1 7.7	4 30.8	-	1 7.7	-
Schedule caste	-	-	2 33.3	-	-	-
Schedule tribe	4 5.9	4 5.9	18 26.5	4 4.5	1 1.5	1 1.5
Others	-	-	1 12.5	-	-	2 25.0
Total	10 5.0	14 7.0	53 26.5	5 2.5	13 6.5	4 2.0

There is the other side of the coin also. The teachers, parents, social workers and leaders observe that the tribal students are sober temperamentally (19.5%) and co-operative by nature (8.0%). The habit of doing manual labour on the other hand is preferred by 60.5 per cent of the units of TPSL. We give data on this account in table 5.10.

Table 5.10

Tribal Attributes of Character liked by non-tribals

TPSL	Nil	Discipline	Laborious	Sober	Cooperative
Teacher	4 4.2	7 7.4	8 8.4	24 25.3	8 8.4
Parent	4 11.1	6 16.7	2 5.6	6 16.7	2 5.6
Social worker	3 6.4	2 4.3	2 4.3	8 17.0	1 2.1
Leader	3 13.6	-	1 4.5	1 4.5	5 22.7
Total	14 7.0	15 7.5	13 6.5	39 19.5	16 8.0

In concluding the above section of our discussion it could be said that it is for the first time in the country's history that the tribal younger generation has come face-to-face with the regional society through schools and their activities. The contents of school curriculum are so designed that they draw the students in the regional mainline for some items and national mainline in others. We have not made any detailed study of the bearing of syllabus on the integration of students but we have demonstrated data above which clearly show that some of the extra-curricular activities have succeeded to involve the students in the regional and the national mainline.

Some of the tribal habits which are more of collective nature than individual one are disliked by the regional society. But there is nothing bad in it. Even at the national level there are some contradictions in the way of life which is found at the regional level. For a particular region or sub-region. Liquor and smoking may be a taboo but simultaneously this might be a new fashion at the national level. Tribals have also adopted differential approach in accepting cultural items of the regional and national societies.

TRIBAL STUDENTS: TOWARDS INCORPORATION IN WIDER SOCIETY

Educational system, it is said, plays an important role in the training, development and allocation of its manpower resources. In a developing country like India, it is expected that the educational system will become not only a key mechanism for the economic development of various sections of its people but also a powerful instrument for accelerating the process of social change.[2] The Constitution of India provides for certain specific as well as general safeguards for the scheduled tribes to promote their educational and economic interests and to remove their traditional social disabilities.

Our objective here is to find out whether the school students show some awareness about happenings around them. If things go against them do they mobilise in protest? Or if general students express their unrest, do they participate in the movement? In what areas of life do the tribal students show their interests? It is also important to know whether their involvement is sought in the celebration of social functions in the non-tribal circles. And do they participate in the agitations which concern the local issues? These are some of the questions which have relevance in terms of the integration of tribal students in the regional or the national mainline. Our argument is that if the tribal students reading to the standard of secondary level show evidence of the fact that they are concerned with the problems of the local society. It could be safely inferred that the modern school education is conducive to attaining some degree of national integration. Let us examine the argument in the light of data generated from the field.

The teachers, parents, social workers and leaders were asked to comment as to what extent the tribal students were conscious about the general political and social happenings around them. The data have been

collected on three-point scale indicating that none of them is conscious, most of them are conscious and some of them are conscious. It is found that higher scores are obtained (67.5%) for the point 'some of them' in the scale. However, it is found that only a meagre percentage of students is reported by TPSL having no awareness. Table 5.11 give data in this regard.

Table 5.11

Extent of General Awakening among Tribal Students According to Teachers, Parents, Social Workers and Leaders

TPSL	None of them	Some of them	Most of them	Total
Teachers	8 8.4	53 55.8	34 35.8	95 47.5
Parents	4 11.1	29 80.6	3 8.3	36 18.0
Social Workers	1 2.1	35 74.5	11 23.4	47 23.5
Leaders	1 4.5	18 81.8	3 13.6	22 11.0
Total	14 7.0	135 67.5	51 25.5	200 100.0

In the tribal region protests in the general masses are occasional. Tribals hardly mobilize in a movement. However, some movements of political kind have been occasionally organized by Lokdal under the

influence of Baleshwar Dayal popularly known as Kaka among the tribals. The students do not show interest in such movements. However, when protests are organised by the students for some concessions in school and hostel the tribal students are expected to involve themselves. Data collected on this account show that more than one-third of the constituents (34.5) express that the students do not participate in the movement. For 37 per cent of them the students involve themselves in the protest. According to 28.5 per cent teachers, parents, social workers and leaders. The involvement of students in such protests is mild. Table 5.12 gives data in this respect.

Table 5.12

Concern Shown by Tribal Students over Protest

TPSL	No concern	Moderate concern	Very much concern	Total
Teachers	33 34.7	32 33.7	30 31.6	95 47.5
Parents	14 38.9	12 33.3	10 27.8	36 18.0
Social workers	16 34.0	10 21.3	21 44.7	47 23.5
Leaders	6 27.3	3 13.6	13 59.1	22 11.0
Total	69 34.5	57 28.5	74 37.0	200 100.0

In order to get in an overall assessment of tribal students where they have succeeded, we asked questions of our constituent unit of TPSL. We have further categorised the TPSL units according to their caste membership, namely, high castes, intermediate castes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. According to this general assessment more than half of the informants (54.5%) report that the tribals tend to enter government services very much. This shows two trends: one, they are leaving agriculture as their main source of earning; second, they have accepted service as a major source of income. Entry into service has been made easy for them as some percentage of jobs are reserved for them. Shift to agriculture as reported by TPSL also shows that tribals are accepting market economy. They are moving towards economic integration. In other areas of life as the informants say the success attained by the tribal students is little.

Table 5.13

Assessment of Caste and other Social Groups about the Success Areas of Tribals in General

Caste Groups	Nil	Agriculture	Service	Agriculture and service	Business	Agriculture and business	Service and business	Agriculture, Service and Business	Leadership	Service and leadership	Agriculture service and leadership	Business and leadership	Agriculture Service, Business and leadership	Total
High Caste	7 6.7	3 2.9	45 45.9	22 21.0	1 1.0	1 1.0	8 7.6	2 1.9	2 1.9	7 6.7	2 1.9	1 1.0	4 3.8	105 52.5
Middle caste	2 15.4	2 15.4	6 46.2	-	-	-	1 7.7	1 7.7	-	1 7.7	-	-	-	13 6.5
Scheduled caste	-	-	6 100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 3.0
Scheduled tribe	3 4.4	-	48 70.6	3 4.4	2 2.9	-	4 5.9	-	1 1.5	2 2.9	-	-	5 7.4	68 34.0
Other	2 25.0	-	4 50.0	1 12.5	-	-	-	-	1 12.5	-	-	-	-	8 4.0
Total	14 7.0	5 2.5	109 54.5	26 13.0	3 1.5	1 0.5	13 6.5	3 1.5	4 2.0	10 5.0	2 1.0	1 0.5	9 4.5	200 100.0

Admittedly the physical isolation of the tribal has been broken down by massive introduction of transport and communication. The isolation battle seems to be over. But whether the social isolation of tribals has been broken down, is an issue to be investigated. To judge tribe-caste interaction we have taken the occasions of marriage and celebrations of other rituals. In this respect the field data show that to some extent (43%) the tribals are invited by non tribals on social occasions. More than half of the informants (57%) report that tribals are not invited on such occasions by non-tribals. The following table gives data in this respect.

Table 5.14

Interaction of Caste-tribe Groups on Marriage and other such Rituals as reported by Caste and other Social Groups

Caste group	Yes	No	Total
High caste	47 44.8	58 55.2	105 52.5
Middle caste	8 61.5	5 38.5	13 6.5
Scheduled castes	1 16.7	5 83.3	6 3.0
Scheduled tribes	27 39.7	41 60.3	68 34.0
Others	3 37.5	5 62.5	8 4.0
Total	86 43.0	114 57.0	200 100.0

In the plains the tribals live along with caste Hindus in mixed villages. This brings them in close proximity with the caste Hindus. One of the yardsticks of integration is the involvement of the tribals in the problems of the non-tribals and the vice-versa. It has been reported in categorical terms that the non-tribals has never shown their concern for solving the problems of the tribals. The tribals on the other hand have exhibited a moderate approach. According to one-fourth of informants the tribals always show their concern for the problems of the non-tribals. A little more than half of the informants report that it is 'sometimes' that the tribal show interest. The data are given below:

Table 5.15

Concern shown by Tribals in the Problems of Non-tribals

TPSL	No concern	Always concerned	Sometimes concerned	Total
Teacher	20 21.1	26 27.4	49 51.6	95 47.5
Parent	13.5.9	16.6.7	69.25.4	18.36.0
Social Worker	11 23.4	12 25.5	24 51.1	47 23.5
Leader	1 4.5	8 36.4	13 59.1	22 11.0
Total	37 18.5	52 26.0	111 55.5	200 100.0

Some of the schools have hostel facilities also. Social welfare department maintains hostels only for the tribal students. Normally hostel facilities for the tribals are available at Panchayat Samiti and district headquarters. If the tribal students have good examination record, their admission to hostels is usual. It is hoped that the hostel provides opportunities for developing certain qualities in the personal life. Regularity, routinised work, good manners, cooperation and cleanliness are some of the traits which the hostlers are likely to develop.

The assessment of teachers, parents, social workers and leaders in this respect present a very poor opinion. Whatever achievements the hostelers seemed to have made score very poor percentages. The variation ranges from 1 to 9 per cent. The data are given in Table 5.16

Table 5.16

Impact of Hostel Life on Tribal Students in Developing Personal Traits

TPSL	No impact	Regularity	Knowledge of cleanliness	Regularity and knowledge of cleanliness	Development of good habits	Regularity and Development of good habits	Knowledge of cleanliness & development of good habits	Cooperation	Elements of outside cultural and civilization	Other activities	Total
Teacher	7 7.4	-	1 1.1	4 4.2	2 2.1	-	10 10.5	1 1.1	2 2.1	6 6.3	95 47.5
Parent	2 5.6	1 2.8	-	4 11.1	1 2.8	-	3 8.3	-	-	5 13.9	36 18.0
Social worker	6 12.8	1 2.1	-	3 6.4	-	2 4.3	1 2.1	-	2 4.3	2 4.3	47 23.5
Leader	3 13.6	-	-	1 4.5	2 9.1	1 4.5	2 9.1	-	-	1 4.5	22 11.0
Total	18 9.0	2 1.0	1 0.5	12 6.0	5 2.5	3 1.5	16 8.0	1 0.5	4 2.0	14 7.0	200 100.0

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It is wrong to assume that all the tribal groups have similar propensity to integrate themselves in the regional and national mainline. The integration approach adopted by a group varies from one tribal group to another. It has always been differential. It is on this hypothesis that we are able to say that among diverse tribal groups the Minas have incorporated themselves much in the mainline culture. Next to them are the Bhils. The Damor and the Garasia lag behind much. The higher degree of integration achieved by these groups is due to the fact that they have cornered more benefits of development. It would not be wrong to say that the scheduled status of the tribals needs to be revised. If the developed groups are de-scheduled, the lagging groups could be given priority.

Some of the traits of tribal students have controversial values. In some of their traits such as liquor drinking and smoking the tribals are closer to their society whereas for the same traits they are disintegrated in the mainline culture. It appears that quite like the diverse tribal groups, the school students are also diverse. They come from a society which has recently assumed inequality. The approach of such students towards school, hostel and the wider society is naturally differential.

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1. M.S.Gore, at al, p. 179.

2. Chitnis, Suma, "Education of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Maharashtra" in A.B.Shah (ed.) The Social Context of Education, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1978.

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CHAPTER - VI

TRIBAL EDUCATION: TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM

The Indian society to-day is characterised by conflict, coersion, communalism, corruption and a number of centrifugal forces. It appears that the new values of democracy, socialism, secularism and scientific ethics have failed to hold the society together. Violence has increased. It looks that the whole society has run amuck in such a situation of increasing tendencies of disintegration, it is important to take a stock-taking of the role of education in the backward segments of society.

Scheduled Tribes constitute the backward segments of Indian society. They form 7.5 per cent to the general population. In the Tribal Sub-plan Area (TSP) of our study they number about 16 lakhs constituting 12.21 to the total population of the state. They are mainly concentrated in hills and forests. Their migration to plains is recent. In the hilly region they reside in scattered villages. In the plains they live in compact villages soide by side with the caste Hindus and other social groups.

They are a premordial group inhabiting this part of the country before the ascendency of Rajput rule. In fact they were the rulers of the erstwhile state of Banswara and Dungarpur. In the historical records it is found that the tribals of this region helped the Rajputs when they were in war with the Mughals. History would bear with it that in the later regime the Rajputs oppressed the tribals with all callousness till the integration of erstwhile states in the present state of Rajasthan. The history of tribals during the Rajput period has been the history of subordination, suffering and exploitation.

With the promulgation of the constitution the tribals got some special privileges to come at par with the other segments of the society. Reservation of seats in various public institutions, services, preferential treatment in financial assistance, professional education, etc. constitute the package of discrimination. The framers of the constitution provided these facilities to tribals with the hope that in course of time they would develop themselves at par with the non-tribals. There general backwardness thus would be overcome. Various programmes of developments since the First Five Year Plan to the present day have been implemented for the rapid development of the tribals. Education has been identified as one of the crucial factors for the development of tribals.

The main objectives of tribal development programmes have not been development as an end in itself. It is a means, the ultimate objective is to build our nation on the norms and values of democracy, socialism and secularism by integrating the tribals in the national mainstream. We believe that education works as an instrumentality to help tribals to obtain

their incorporation at various levels of our nation; regional, state and so on. Our national society as it emerges from the Constitution, Five Year Plans, and government policies is a plural society held together by forces released from Constitution. Integration is not assimilation. It is a process. In the process, the social groups on one hand maintain their identity — social and cultural and at the same time integrate themselves in the larger economic and political system of the country. The Constitution expects from the tribal group to retain their individual institutions, customs of birth, marriage and death, observe their ceremonies; and above all to retain their cultural identity. There is no intervention by the government in their life. What the government wants to intervence is to seek the incorporation of tribals in the economic and political field, that is, revenue, police, judiciary, education, etc. Thus in official terms the government allows ethnic plurality with an emphasis to hold them together as a nation by secular and democratic forces.

In the context of Tribal Integration it must be said that it is differential. All the tribal groups, in our context, Bhil, Mina , Damor and Garasia, do not integrate themselves in the regional and

national mainline in an equal degree. It would be erroneous to say that all the tribal groups have integrated themselves to an equal level in the mainstream. The fact of the matter is that some of the tribals have achieved higher degree of integration, while others have lagged behind considerably.

One more thing about the characteristic feature of integration is that it is related. The course of integration is not a strait jacket. In some areas of life integration in the region may be disintegration at the national level and vice-versa. As a matter of fact the tribals have three models of integration for them: (1) integration in their own native society; (2) integration in the regional caste society; and (3) integration in the national class society. The national model of integration is a secular, democratic, socialistic, urban, industrial and rational. This model has to be imitated and adopted not only by the tribals or for that matter the scheduled castes, but for all the plural ethnicities of the country. If the tribals in the process of their development integrate themselves in the caste model, it would be interpreted that they have, that is, the tribes have assumed the status of

castes. According to this process the tribal groups would become caste groups. And if they bypass the caste model and accept the class model their integration would be in the national model but such an ideal form of integration cannot be attained by any tribal group. At operational level the tribal groups accept some of the attributes of national model and reject some of the attributes of regional model. Their could also be a reverse situation. And there is always the third possibility. The tribals could seek their own revivalism. They might like to retain their native identity. We have tried to look into tribal education with some of these broader perspectives of education in mind.

The role of education specially in the context of tribals is not without controversy. In some cases education has created a sense of withdrawal among the educated tribals from their society. It is a common observation in the field to find that the educated tribal avails of the first opportunity to run away from his village to settle in towns and cities. In course of time he becomes a rare visitor to his own village. He prefers to become a stranger. Education

has made him to run for white collar jobs. He hates doing manual labour. The educated tribal has emerged as a new middle class among the tribals. It is the education which is largely responsible for creating increasing inequality among the tribals. Now among the tribals we have small farmers, marginal farmers, landless labourers and above all of them landed Peasantry and white collar bosses. Our observations of this kind are not abstract and vague. They have emerged out of the empirical data we have generated from the TSP area of southern Rajasthan. It is better we couch our observations in the light of the questions we raised at the beginning of our study.

Our empirical data are drawn from four districts of Dungarpur, Banswara and parts of Udaipur and Chittorgarh. Data have been generated from three types of schools — Government, Ashram and Mission. On purposive sample we have drawn 24 schools as our school samples representing the three types. The sample of students consists of 300. The teachers, parents, social workers and leaders who are also part of the school system comprise 200 persons. Thus all in all we have studied 500 units as our basic source of information. We have applied the tools of schedule, interview, case

study, and observation. In absence of any scientific hypothesis available we have raised some questions to be answered from the field. We look back to these questions in broad categories in the light of the evidence available with us.

1. WHAT DOES EDUCATION MEAN TO THE TRIBALS AND WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY TODAY?

The response given by the tribals is not on a uniform pattern. Those in the tribal society who are well off have accepted education quite successfully right from primary standard to secondary. Drop outs among tribals are higher from the strata which are relatively poor, which are landless labourers and wage earners. For the poor tribals, therefore, modern education is something which is partially denied. Their argument is that if they get education it will mean a loss of wage and a further liability to find out resources for employment. For well off tribals education is an excellent opportunity for climbing higher in the hierarchy.

Our data provide massive evidence to show that services in government departments can only be had by getting education. The tribal educated boys prefer to

enter the qjob of a teacher, a revenue officer or a Police constable. He is convinced that education as he gets it in the school is not helpful to keep him engaged in agriculture. There is inverse relationship between education and agriculture. Positively, the more a tribal is educated the greater he is likely to be engaged in off-the-farm occupations.

Education for the tribals today has differential impact on the diverse tribal groups. The Minas have taken larger benefits from the educational development programmes. We have enough evidence to indicate that the Mina group has taken the largest size of cake. This has put the Bhils, Damors and Garasias to a disadvantagious situation. In fact the Minas and to a smaller extent and the Bhils have cornered gazetted positions in the government services. Though the Minas have not been able to occupy the prestigious positions in the professions of medicine and engineering, They have been able to occupy some status positions in other walks of life.

2. WHAT ARE THE NEEDS OF TRIBAL SOCIETY? DOES EDUCATION HELP TO FULFIL THESE NEEDS AND ALSO HELP MAINTAIN TRIBAL ETHNIC IDENTITY?

The tribal society's basic needs are two-fold. They want to get rid of poverty. Poverty has been their plight for the last several years. Whatever is done to alleviate their poverty, is acceptable to them. The tribal land situation has become worst today. They have had very little land with them since the beginning. The process of fragmentation has reduced it today to a minimum. For most of the tribals land-holdings are not viable. Their problem today is to seek good-bye to agriculture and seek employment in off-the-farm occupations.

The second need of tribals is to maintain their ethnic identity and at the same time integrate themselves in the mainline of regional and national culture. To answer the first problem it must be said that education has succeeded in providing non-farm-occupations to some extent. The answer to the second problem requires some elaboration in the light of empirical reality.

The up-down practice allowed by the government works against the objective of integration. All opportunities of bringing the students face-to-face with the tribal boys

get defeated by the practice of daily commuting. Again the Ashram schools which were begun as new experiment in helping the students to prepare their lessons at home, for their family does not have any educational background, have isolated the tribal boys from the interaction of the non-tribal students. Educationally, the working of Ashram Schools is helpful in raising the standard of tribal boys but it keeps the tribals away from the wider society. Obviously, it is the disintegrative functions of Ashram schools. However, the posting of teachers in the Ashram schools regardless of their tribe-caste orientation is a healthy feature which the government has adopted.

The impact of Christian schools has also diverse orientations so far tribal integration is concerned. One very positive feature of Christian schools is that despite being sectrians they permit non-tribal students also to get enrolment in their schools. This encourages integration among non-tribal students, Christian tribal students and native tribal students. It is found that he functioning of Christian Mission schools is more towards integration in the national mainline than towards the caste regional mainline. The model of integration for the tribal boys, therefore, is not the caste model. It is the national model.

The tribal students' orientation to integration adopts various approaches. It appears that their leanings towards caste model of integration are lesser compared to the national model. They do not agree to social restrictions put by the high caste Hindus on the Scheduled Castes. They stand for the equal use of sanitary well. Negatively the tribal boys do not want to have networks with non-tribal students and large number of them does not want to enter into business relations with non-tribals.

The leaning towards national model of integration is found in the achievements made by the students in the classroom, school and beyond that. They have fondness, and keenness for Hindi. They know it well that Hindi brings them immediately into national mainstream. Their success in talent tests, games and sports and participation in tournaments of state and national levels vividly show that they have a tendency to move towards national model of integration, then the regional.

It is further found that some of the basic characteristics of tribal society correspond well to the modern educational syllabus. For instance, out of all the school courses made for them the tribal students

show keen interest in Geography and environment which is so substantial for them. It must be observed here that the students in the school have differential approach to subjects corresponding the basic features of their society.

WHAT ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF REGIONAL MAINSTREAM ?

We have tried to identify some of the major characteristics of the regional society of TSP area. It must be observed that the total TSP region consists of two sub-regions, namely Mewar, and Vagad. The dialects of this regions are Mewari and Vagadi. The dominant castes in the whole region are Oswals — a Mahajan caste, Rajputs and Brahmins in Mewar; Oswals, Rajputs, Chaubisas in vagad. During the regime of Rajputs the dominant castes had an easy access to power. Economically also these castes were superordinates. The lower segments of society including the tribals aspired to integrate themselves in the regional society. Even today the dominant castes groups of the region wield power. They style themselves as the model for the imitation of the tribals. They approach the tribals with a spirit of imposing their culture on them.

WHAT STRUCTURAL CHANGES HAS EDUCATION BROUGHT ABOUT IN THE TRIBAL SOCIETY ?

It is difficult indeed to assess tribal structural changes with one factor causation, namely, education. However, among the factors bringing structural changes education is a crucial causal factor. The tribal society has witnessed several changes in the structure of its society. The First and the formost, it is increasingly becoming non-agricultural society. On the present situation it is difficult to label tribal society as a peasant society. Education has prepared them in a larger way to accept off-the-farm occupations. They are now very much in the economic mainline. Second, they are participating in the general political system of the region and the nation. Occasionally they also involve themselves in the regional political movements. They also take part in elections. They are actors in the wider political organization. It is found that the tribals have succeeded in establishing political networks with non-tribals right from Panchayat Raj institutions to Parliament. They are characterised by regional and national awakening.

Third, as a result of education those who have migrated to plains have started living in compact villages. They are in various degrees competing with the non-tribals. In a school programme one can easily observe tribal students rubbing their shoulders with the non-tribals in all competitions.

Recently the traditional tribal Panchayats have issued some of the resolutions saying that bride price practice should be abandoned; drinking of liquor should be prohibited; taking of non-vegetarian meals should be tabooed, and girls should not dance with the boys in fairs. These are some of the reformative aspects which characterise their new social structure. On the strength of data it could be said that the tribal society has ceased to be an agricultural society. Its integration in the caste society is marginal. Its major incorporation is general national stratification.

ALTERNATIVE PARADIGM OF EDUCATION FOR TRIBALS

Before we jot down some features of an Alternative Paradigm of tribal education we must state our promise in definite terms. Our logic is that any paradigm or model of education is relative to the basic

postulates of the society under consideration. Second, the structure of society in terms of its stratification determines the elements of education. With this theoretical premise in view we tentatively tend to suggest a few items as structural units to this model.

(1) The modern education system which is in operation among the tribals of TSP area is in no way different from the non-tribal students, both content-wise and approach-wise. The school system is uniformly applied in the whole state inrrespective of any social distinctions. Such a uniform application has created some unprecedented distinctions in the tribal society. For instance the tribals did not have any elaborate division among genders. The concept of sex distinction was also very vague among them. Modern education has made this distinction very pronounced. Then the tribals who did not hesitate to do manual labour in unfavourable environment, now tend to withdraw from hard work. This is evident from their new love for white collar jobs.

In any alternative paradigm of education efforts should be made to stress on manual labour and stress on the equality of sexes.

(2) The new model of education should have special courses oriented to technology rather than agriculture, for the latter does not occupy any significance in their economy. There should be enough material in the course content which should prepare them to accept off-the-farm occupations. With tongue in-cheeck we would say that some courses in TSP area at the secondary level should be introduced as optionals having a bearing on technological, industrial, urban occupations.

(3) The syllabus should have a higher dose of games and sports along with cultural programmes. Such a co-curricular package of activities in the school would provide opportunities to the tribals to come face-to-face with the non-tribal boys.

(4) The methodology of education among the tribals should undergo wide structural transformation. The age-old methods of teaching in the class even without blackboard should be abandoned. The technology of Distance Education including the network of mass media should be introduced in the tribal schools. This will hasten up the integration of tribal students with their non-tribal counter-parts.

We do not argue for a separate system of education for the tribals. Our premise is that in free India the needs of the tribal society cannot be different from the needs of the non-tribal society. We cannot have two societies in one nation. When the needs are the same, the model of education would also be the same. If we introduce a tribal language as a medium of instruction as Madhya Pradesh and some other states have done, in the name of merit we would isolate the tribals from the mainline civilization. What the alternative model has to do is to provide some special packages of course contents which could suit to the temperament of the tribals. Our argument is that the tribals will have do develop along with their genius. We had enough of tribal isolation. We kept them buried in illiteracy for years together; we exploited them for generations; we kept them away from the benefits of civilization for centuries. Let us not follow any more the colonial policy of tribal isolation in manifest or latent form.

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APPENDIX-I

Comprehensive List of Scheduled Tribes included in the President's Scheduled Tribes Orders (Amendment) Act, 197[illegible].

1. Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungria Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mewasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Enadi, Bhilala Pawra, Vasava, Vasave.
2. Bhil Mina
3. Damor, Damaria
4. Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi
5. Garasia (excluding Rajput Garasia)
6. Kathodi, Katkari, Dhor Kathodi, Dhor Katnkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari.
7. Kokna, Kokni, Kukna
8. Koli Dhor, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha.
9. Mina
10. Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivala Nayaka, Kapadia Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka.
11. Patelia
12. Seharia, Sehria, Saharia.

आदिवासी और शिक्षा :

क्षेत्रीय मुख्य धारा में एकीकरण की खोज

एरिक, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान एव प्रशिक्षण परिषद्,

नई दिल्ली द्वारा प्रायोजित प्रोजेक्ट के निमित्त

डॉ. हेमलता तलेसरा
विद्याभवन जी एस शिक्षक महाविद्यालय
उदयपुर-313001

आदिवासी और शिक्षा, क्षेत्रीय मुख्य धारा में एकीकरण की खोज

एरिक, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसधान एवं प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, नई दिल्ली द्वारा प्रायोजित प्रोजेक्ट के निमित्त

अनुसूची

(सिर्फ छात्रो के लिये)

(1) नाम

(2) उम्र

(3) लिंग

(4) जन जाति का नाम

(5) कक्षा

(6) विद्यालय का नाम

(7) परिवार मे कितने स्त्री-पुरुष पढे लिखे हैं ? स्त्री / पुरुष

(8) आपके कितने भाई बहिन पढने जा रहे है ?

	भाई नही पढ रहा है	पढ रहा है कक्षा	अनौपचारिक शिक्षा
1)			
2)			
3)			
4)			

बहिन नही पढ रही है पढ रही है

कक्षा अनौपचारिक शिक्षा

1)

2)

3)

4)

(9) आपका छोटा भाई पढने जाता है या नही ?

(10) आप अपने कोई चार खास मित्रो का परिचय दीजिये -

नाम जाति शिक्षा

2)

2)

3)

4)

(11) आपकी रूचि किन क्षेत्रो मे है ? (√)

(अ) पढने मे

(ब) खेलने मे

(स) साहित्यक गतिविधियो मे

(द) सास्कृतिक गतिविधि मे

(ध) अन्य

(12) आप कहा तक तथा किस प्रकार की शिक्षा लेना चाहते है ?

कहाँ तक किस प्रकार की

(13) पढ लिखकर आप क्या बनना चाहते है ? कोई दो वरीयता दीजिये ।

(अ)

(ब)

(14) आप अपने अध्ययन हेतु प्रतिदिन कितना समय देते है ?

(15) आप कौनसा विषय पढने मे अधिक रूचि लेते है ?

(16) कक्षा मे पढाये जाने वाले विषयो मे कौन से विषय आपको सरलता से समझ मे आ जाते है ?

(17) आप विद्यालय मे जितनी गणित पढते है वह आपके रोज के जीवन मे क्या काम आती है ?

(18) आप विद्यालय मे जो हिन्दी सीखते है, वह आपके दैनिक जीवन मे क्या काम आती है ?

(19) विद्यालयी शिक्षा मे जो विज्ञान सिखाया जाता है, उसकी आप दैनिक जीवन मे कितनी उपयोगिता मानते है ?

(20) विद्यालय मे सीखी हुई वाणिज्य की शिक्षा आपके दैनिक जीवन मे किस प्रकार उपयोगी है ?

(21) गोबर गैस यंत्र के बारे मे आप क्या जानते है ।

(22) निर्धूम चूल्हे के बारे मे आप क्या जानते है ।

(23) भारत मे राष्ट्रपति की जगह पर कौन व्यक्ति आ सकता है ?

(24) क्या आदिवासी ईसाई और सामान्य आदिवासी दोनो भाई भाई है ?

(25) दैनिक जीवन मे खान-पान, रहन-सहन मन्दिर प्रवेश, एक ही कुएँ से पानी लेना आदि मे कहा सबके साथ समानता और कहा असमानता है ?

वे क्षेत्र जिनमे समानता है	वे क्षेत्र जिनमे असमानता है
(अ)	(अ)
(ब)	(ब)
(स)	(स)

(26) अनेक लोग अपने जीवन की महत्वपूर्ण घटनाओ के पीछे भाग्य तथा भगवान का हाथ मानते है । इस सम्बन्ध मे आपके क्या विचार है ?

(27) यदि आपके वर्तमान पाठ्यक्रम मे कोई एक विषय रखा जाए तो आप कौन सा विषय रखना चाहेगे ?

(28) आप अपनी कक्षा के पाठ्यक्रम मे से किन विषयो को हटा देना चाहेगे ?

(29) आपको निम्न मे से कौनसे काम आते है ?

(अ) हल चलाना

(ब) पाणत करना

(स) गुदाई करना

(द) बुवाई करना

(घ) घास काटना

(इ) ट्रेक्टर चलाना

(च) पशु चलाना

(छ) अन्य कार्य

(30) आपकी राय मे जो छात्र हास्टल की सुविधाए ले रहे है तथा जो नही ले रहे है, उनके मध्य आये अन्तर को कैसे समाप्त किया जा सकता है ?

(31) क्या आप अपने गैर आदिवासी मित्र के के साथ व्यवसाय करना पसन्द करेगे ?

(32) "जाति-पाँति का भेदभाव किये बिना योग्यता के आधार पर छात्रो को विद्यालय एव छात्रावास मे प्रवेश मिलना चाहिये" इस बारे मे आपके क्या विचार है ?

सामान्य ज्ञान परीक्षण

[1] निम्न बिन्दुओ पर जानकारी दीजिये

[अ] ग्रामपचायत का सरपच

[ब] पचायत समिति का प्रधान

[द] जिले का प्रमुख

[2] आपके गाव की समस्याओ के निराकरण मे कौन ज्यादा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा करता है ?

[3] आपके परिवार की भूमि सबधी समस्या निपटाने मे कौन ज्यादा सहायक होगा ?

[4] परिवार मे किसी सदस्य के बीमार होने पर आप उसे कहा ले जाते है ?

[5] आपके जन जाति समाज की कोई दो समस्याएँ बताइये ?

[6] राजस्थान के बारे मे निम्न जानकारी दीजिये ।

[अ] राजस्थान के मुख्य मत्री कौन है ?

[ब] राजस्थान की राजधानी कहाँ है ?

[7] राजस्थान के किन्ही दो बड़े बाँधो के नाम बताइये ।

[8] राजस्थान भारत की किस दिशा मे स्थित है ?

[9] राजस्थान की विधान सभा मे जन जाति के दो सदस्यो के नाम बताइये ।

[10] राजस्थान की सीमा से जुड़े कौन-कौन से राज्य है ?

[11] राजस्थान राज्य के कोई चार जिलो के नाम बताइये ?

[12] आपको जन जाति के होने के कारण भारत सरकार ने क्या सुविधाएँ दे रखी है ?

[13] हमारे देश का प्रधान मत्री कौन है ?

[14] हमारे देश की राजधानी कहाँ है ?

[15] हिमालय देश की किस दिशा मे स्थित है ?

अनुसधानकर्ता की टिप्पणी

6/ Suggestions for further study

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

(CLASS ROOM SITUATION)

1. Name of the Class

2. Name with Sirname of the Teacher

3. Number of students attending the class

4. Number of tribal students attending the class

5. Age group of tribal students

6. Teaching Method

   i) Traditional

   ii) New approach

   iii) Mixture of the two

7. Student's Participation Yes/ No

8. If yes

(i) More

(ii) Some

(iii) Very little

(iv) Nil

9. The Class room atmosphere:

(i) Healthy

(ii) Hostile

(iii) Lazy fair

10. Relevancy of answers

(i) Relevant

(ii) Somewhat relevant

(iii) Irrelevant

11. Student's Alertness

(i) Inquisitive

(ii) Dull

(iii) Unconscious

12. Class room Atmosphere

(i) Disciplined and

(ii) Orderly

(iii) Inorderly

(iv) Normal

13. Teacher - Student Interaction

(i) Excellent

(ii) Good

(iii) Ordinary

(iv) Unsatisfactory

14. Observer's comments

आदिवासी और शिक्षा :

क्षेत्रीय मुख्य धारा में एकीकरण की खोज

एरिक, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसंधान एवं प्रशिक्षण परिषद्,

नई दिल्ली द्वारा प्रायोजित प्रोजेक्ट के निमित्त

डॉ. हेमलता नवलखा
विद्याभवन डी एड शिक्षक महाविद्यालय
उदयपुर-313001

आदिवासी और शिक्षा, क्षेत्रीय मुख्य धारा से एकीकरण की खोज

एरिक, राष्ट्रीय शैक्षिक अनुसधान एव प्रशिक्षण परिषद्, नई दिल्ली द्वारा प्रायोजित प्रोजेक्ट के निमित्त

अनुसूची

(शिक्षक, अभिभावक, आदिवासी नेता, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता आदि के लिए)

[1] सूचना दाता का नाम

[2] जाति/जनजाति

[3] उम्र

[4] व्यवसाय शिक्षक/ सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता/ आदिवासी नेता/ अभिभावक या स्वरोजगार

[5] शैक्षिक योग्यता

[6] वर्तमान निवास स्थान

[7] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी बालको को कहा तक कैसी शिक्षा
कहा तक तथा कैसी शिक्षा देनी चाहिए ?

[9] निम्नलिखित विषयो मे कौन से विषय और उनमे भी कौन से मुद्दे ऐसे है, जिनमे आदिवासी छात्र कोई रुचि नही दिखाते है ?

विषय	मुद्दे
1] भूगोल	
2] गणित	
3] अग्रेजी	
4] सस्कृत	
5] सामाजिक ज्ञान	

6] वाणिज्य

7] सामाजिक शिक्षा

8] अन्य

[10] शिक्षा प्राप्त बालक अपनी सीखी हुई पढाई के द्वारा घर पर किन बातो मे सहायता करता है ?

[11] यह सामान्य शिकायत है कि आदिवासी अपने बच्चो को पढने नही भेजते है, आपकी राय मे इसके क्या कारण है ?

[12] इस क्षेत्र मे आदिवासी छात्रो के ऐसे कौन से व्यवहार है, जो आपको पसन्द अथवा नापसन्द है ?

व्यवहार जो पसन्द है	व्यवहार जो नापसन्द है

[13] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्र जो विद्यालय मे प्रवेश ले लेते है, पर बाद मे छोडकर चले जाते है, इसके क्या कारण है ?

[14] क्या आपके गांव या क्षेत्र शादी-विवाह या मौसर पर आदिवासियो को आमंत्रित किया जाता है ?

[15] क्या आपको इसकी कोई जानकारी है कि आदिवासी छात्र को उसके घर पर पढने मे मार्ग दर्शन मिलता है ?

[अ] माता-पिता द्वारा — हाँ / नही

[ब] बडे भाई-बहिन द्वारा — हाँ / नही

[स] अन्य से — हाँ / नही

[द] परिवार मे कोई पढा लिखा नही हाँ / नही

[16] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्र किन विषयो मे अधिक रूचि लेते है ?

[अ] रूचि नही लेते हैं

[ब] रूचि लेते है

[स] अधिक रूचि लेते है

[17] क्या आप ऐसा समझते है कि विद्यालय मे निकला हुआ थोडा बहुत पढा लिखा आदिवासी अपने व्यवहार और लेन-देन मे होशियार हो जाता है ?

[अ] नही

[ब] कुछ-कुछ

[स] बहुत कुछ

[18] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्र की विषय सामग्री ग्रहण करने की समझ कैसी है ? सामान्य अनुभव बताएँ ।

[19] क्या आप देखते है कि आदिवासी छात्र प्रतिकूल शिकायत या असुविधा होने पर विरोध करता है या चुपचाप सहन कर लेता है ?

[20] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्र शैक्षणिक और सह शैक्षणिक गतिविधियो मे किसके प्रति अधिक रुचि/अरुचि व्यक्त करते है ?

विकास के क्षेत्र	रुचि	अरुचि
[अ] क्रीडा सम्बन्धी		
[ब] सास्कृतिक		
[स] साहित्यिक		

[द] विज्ञान सम्बन्धी

[21] क्या आदिवासी छात्र अपने स्पष्टीकरण के लिए प्रश्न पूछते है?

[अ] कभी नही

[ब] कभी-कभी

[स] प्राय

[22] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्रो मे सामान्यत. कौन सी बुराइयां मिलती है ।

[23] सरकार द्वारा आदिवासियो को दिए गए आरक्षण के सम्बन्ध मे आपके क्या विचार है ?

[24] पढे लिखे आदिवासी आपकी दृष्टि मे जीवन के किन क्षेत्रो मे कामयाब हुए है ।

[25] "आदिवासी महिला अध्यापिकाएँ जितनी अधिक आदिवासी क्षेत्रो मे होगी, उतनी ही अतिक आदिवासी क्षेत्रो मे बालिका शिक्षा मे प्रगति हो सकेगी ।" इस बारे मे आपके क्या विचार है ?

[26] आपकी राय मे आदिवासी छात्रो मे हॉस्टल के कारण कौन-कौन सी प्रवृत्तियां विकसित होती है ?

[अ] नियमितता

[ब] सफाई का ज्ञान

[स] अच्छी आदतो का विकास

[द] सामूहिकता

[ए] बाह्य सभ्यता तथा संस्कृति के तत्व

[ड] अन्य प्रवृतियां

[27] आपकी राय मे आदिवासियो मे शिक्षा के प्रति

जागृति, उन क्षेत्रो मे जो घने जगल मे पहाडियो मे
स्थित है, कैसे पैदा की जा सकती है ?

[28] कुछ लोग यह सुझाव देते है कि आदिवासी क्षेत्रों मे यदि अध्यापक और अध्यापिकाएँ आदिवासी ही हो तो शिक्षा के विकास की अधिक सभावना है। इस विषय मे आपकी क्या राय है ?

[अ] ऐसा कुछ नही है

[ब] गैर आदिवासी अध्यापक/अध्यापिकाओ से भी विकास हो सकता है।

[स] अधिक विकास आदिवासी अध्यापक/अध्यापिकाओ से ही सभव है।

[29] क्या पढा लिखा आदिवासी स्थानीय जनता की समस्याओ मे भागीदारी करता है ?

[अ] नही करता है।

[ब] कभी-कभी करता है।

[स] प्राय करता है।

[30] यहा जब कभी ग्राम जनता या राजनीतिक दल कोई आन्दोलन उठाते है तो क्या आदिवासी उसमे भाग लेते है ?

[अ] नही लेते है।

[ब] कभी-कभी लेते है।

[स] प्राय लेते है।

* अनुसधानकर्ता की टिप्पणी

INSTITUTIONAL CASE STUDY

1/ The Problem—General Information about the Case

(1) Institution Situation

(2) Starting year

(3) Classes

(4) Teachers

(5) & Subjects

(6) Castes of the Students

(7) Castes of the Teachers & Heads

(8) Availibity of Hostel facilities

(9) Financing of School & Hostel

(10) Extra curricular Activities

(a) Literary Activities

(b) Cultural Activities

(c) Games Activities

(11) Library facility

(12) Scholarship and Freeship available

(13) Students Union

(14) Arrangements of Camps and Hikes

2/ The Course of Events - Pistorical Background

(1) Development of the Institution—

Primary

Upper Primary Year

Secondary Year

Hr.Secondary Year

(2) Boluntary Institution - Attached

(3) Changes in Class-room, Building Planning.

(4) No.of Tribal Students at the time of Starting

(5) Attitude of Tribal People at the time of School Starting

(6) Year wise student number

Tribal, SC, Other

(7) Seminars/Workshops or other training Programmes attended by the teachers

National level

State level

Local

(8) Preparation of students for future profession.

3/ Relevant Factors

(a) Helping Tms from different Agencies

(b) Helping fr x: Tribal Leaders and Other Social Workers.

(c) Changes of thinking about Castism.

(d) Attitude of Higher Caste

(e) Attitude of Head

(f) Teachers views

(g) Students Views

(h) Location Nearer to the City or far from the city.

(g) Government Attitude.

4/ The Out Come

(a) Changes in the Value of different castes

(b) Adjustment

(c) Students high achievement

(d) Effect of education, Modernisation and Industrialisation.

(e) Changes in the attitude of tribal people.

(f) Interviews with concerning Persons

Head,

Teachers

Office staff

Student

5/ Analysis

Effect

Consciousness

Innovation

6/ Suggestions for Study — he Formulati.. of uestion

CASE STUDY FOR STUDENTS

1/ The Problem (Regarding the Student in Terms of his Status and Role such as backward Normal bright and abnormal, exceptional and dropout

(I) Category of Students & Problems:

1. Name

2. Age

3. Caste

4. Class

5. Occupation of parents

6. No.of brothers

7. No.of sisters

8. Educational Contest of Family Members

1)

2)

3)

4)

9. Earning members

10. Monthly Income

11. Type of family - Joint/nuclear

12. Scholarship of Freeship from the government

13. Field of Interest

14. Reason for taking Education

15. Leasure time activity

16. Social context of Peer group

17. Participation in culture activity

18. Participation in learning activity

19. Participation in games and sports

2/ The Course of Events

1. History of the Students

2. Family /Caste/Community/Background

3. Education

4. Physical Health

5. Disease if any

3/ Relevant factors

Different factors which are helpful for student Education among these may be included following

1. Dispute in the village

2. Educational background of the community and village and its environs: Development of Agricultural, Industrial etc.

3. Community, Communication, Network

4/ Outcome

1. Position in Examination

2. Games and Sports

3. Cultural Competitions

4. Literary Competitions

5. Involvement in Regional/National mainstream

5/ Analysis

Causal Explanation of the Problems